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ECCLESIASTICAL JURISDICTION IN THE SPANISH COLONIES

Having considered the diocesan government of Florida,[1] we now pass to those States in the southwest which also formed at one time a part of the Spanish dominions, namely: Texas, New Mexico, Arizona and California. This region now forms three ecclesiastical provinces: San Francisco, Santa Fé and the portion of New Orleans west of the Sabine River; in the Spanish days it was in the ecclesiastical province of Mexico, since it was politically a part of the Vice-Royalty of New Spain. Hence it will be convenient to premise an outline of civil and ecclesiastical growth in that country.

The Spanish tradition of establishing dioceses as soon as possible after taking possession is nowhere more clearly instanced than in Mexico. Cortés landed in 1519; the City of Mexico was permanently occupied in 1521; and in 1525 Pope Clement VII appointed a bishop to Tlaxcala, a town about fifty-five miles from the present capital.[2] The choice of this town instead of Mexico City was dictated probably by the fact that its inhabitants, though at first putting up a bitter resistance, had ultimately concluded a league with the Spaniards and had assisted in the Conquest. And with the landing of the Bishop (Julian Garcés) in 1527 the diocesan history of Mexico begins, only eight years after Spanish forces first set foot on Mexican soil. Like the other dioceses in Spanish America at this time Tlaxcala was a suffragan of Seville, and this arrangement continued down to 1545. In the

[1] Dr. Ryan's previous articles on the *Diocesan Organization in the Spanish Colonies* appeared in the July, 1916, and July, 1918, issues of the REVIEW.

[2] He had been appointed to the See of Yucatán (founded in 1518 as "Carolensis"), but this See was suppressed shortly afterward.

meantime Mexico had been established (1530), and others followed in rapid succession so that in 1545 the territory was detached from Seville and constituted into a separate Province with Mexico as the Metropolitan See. As the Spaniards pushed on new, Sees were established, the ones entering into our present study being Compostela (1548; removed to Guadalajara, 1560), Durango (1620), Linares (1777) and Arizpe (1779). All these were suffragans of Mexico, which diocese itself had a wonderful development.

TABLE OF DIOCESAN DEVELOPMENT

Rome
Seville
Mexico, (1530), 1545
Michoacan, 1536
(Compostela, 1548)
Guadalajara, 1560

Durango, 1620	Linares, 1777	Arizpe (Sonora), 1779
Vic. Apost. of N. Mexico, 1850	Pref. Apost. of Texas, 1838	Both Californias, 1840
	Vic. Apost. of Texas, 1841	Monterey, 1850.

For, by the middle of the sixteenth century it possessed, besides a plentiful supply of schools, colleges and convents, a University (aptly called "the last of the medieval Universities") which in time came to be an important seat of learning and produced some excellent scholars, particularly in the department of Aztec languages and antiquities. But we must own that this progress would have been difficult, not to say impossible, without that close co-operation of Church and State that obtained in Spain and the Spanish possessions. An instance of this is the manner in which the first Bishop of Mexico, the famous Zumárraga, was appointed. He came without papal nomination but solely by the authority of Charles V and styling himself "*omnimoda potestate Antistes*," governed his diocese for five years before going back to Spain to receive the necessary Bulls and be consecrated. Such situations as this—and they are by no means rare—evidence how far-reaching was the power of the Spanish crown in Church affairs.

From Mexico the Church was extended into United States territory in three directions: north, into New Mexico and Arizona; northeast, into Texas; and northwest, into California. In the present article we consider them in this (the chronological) order.

1. New Mexico and Arizona

Immediately to the west of Mexico lay its suffragan Michoacan (established in 1536). Intended to coincide with the old Kingdom of Michoacan, its boundary in the neighborhood of Zacatecas was vague; and when the advance of the Spaniards toward the Rio Grande and along the Pacific coast of Mexico made necessary a further erection of dioceses, it was from Michoacan that the new diocese was formed. This came in 1548 with the establishment of a bishopric at Compostela in the Province of Tepic, removed in 1560 to Guadalajara. And as its northern limit was coincident with the northern limit of Spanish expansion,[3] our Southwest enters on the stage of Church history as part of the Diocese of Guadalajara. But it required a long time and persistent courage to make settlements in this region. The attempts ended in failure until Juan de Oñate succeeded in establishing the town of Real de San Juan in 1598. Of course like Spanish explorers generally, he was accompanied by priests, in this case Franciscans, who had the double function of ministering to the Spanish soldiers and converting the natives. And as the Friars were subject to their superior in Mexico and enjoyed the usual privileges of missioners in Spanish America, they were practically independent of the bishop, though he could claim the right of visitation. It happened, however, that even this right was never exercised from Guadalajara, for in 1620 Pope Paul V erected the See of Durango (the residence of the Governor of Nueva Vizcaya), including in its territory present-day New Mexico and Arizona. This arrangement lasted throughout the periods of Spanish and Mexican rule and even for a short time after the cession of these lands to the United States in 1848, though a separate diocese for New Mexico was more than once proposed.

[3] Cuanto caé al E: como Coahuila, Monterey y Tejas, terminando en los bárbaros del N. y por el O. todo lo que hasta entónces se había conquistado y lo estaba por conquistar."—VERA, *Catecismo . . . . de la Iglesia Mexicana*, p. 231. For Escobar's *Relation of the Oñate Expedition*, see pp. 19-41 of this issue.

During four score years the missioners labored heroically; then, in 1680 came a terrible uprising of the Indians, the Spaniards were driven out and almost every vestige of Catholicism was destroyed. Up to this time there is no record of any visitation by the bishop. The priests were Franciscans exclusively (as was the case, with a very few exceptions, down to about 1800), and as their chief occupation was the care of the mission stations there was little occasion for a bishop to venture into so remote a portion of his diocese. Spanish rule was re-established in 1692 and maintained until the independence of Mexico (1821). Still it is not until well on in the eighteenth century that the series of episcopal visitations begins.

The first bishop actively to exercise jurisdiction in what is now the State of New Mexico was Bénito Crespo, a man of extraordinary energy, who ruled the Diocese of Durango from 1723 to 1734. Three times he travelled over the vast territory entrusted to his care and on the second of these journeys he succeeded in penetrating into New Mexico, a thing not achieved by any of his predecessors. In fact he included even Arizona in his inspection, the only bishop who ever went there before American occupation; and it was due to his earnest representations to King Philip V that that struggling mission obtained a new lease of life through the efforts of the three Jesuits whom the King sent. In New Mexico he encountered no difficulty at first. He was well received at El Paso and Santa Fé, pontificating and administering the Sacrament of Confirmation, but as soon as he attempted to exercise his functions at the Pueblo Missions, the Franciscans, obeying the command of their superior in Mexico, refused to recognize his right to do so and called in question the authority of the ecclesiastical judge he appointed to try canonical cases. So determined were they in their opposition that the bishop was forced to institute proceedings against the officials of the Order in Mexico and ultimately the affair was referred to the King. In the course of the dispute rather serious charges were brought against the Friars, such as that they neglected to learn the native tongues (we shall meet with this again), thereby limiting considerably their usefulness as confessors and catechists; that they improperly employed the tithes; that they gave scandal by their conduct, etc. It is impossible to pass on the truth of these accusations, since they were affirmed

and denied with equal vehemence and authority. Nor does it appear that a final official decision was ever given. In 1729 came a royal order favorable to the bishop, followed two years later by one that seemed somewhat to favor the Friars; then, after another two years, a temporary decision was handed down, to the effect that the bishop possessed jurisdiction. Then came an appeal to Madrid, where the case was called in 1736, but the record (if there is one) of a final settlement is not to be had. On the whole it would seem that the victory rested with the bishop, to judge from the fact of subsequent visitations and the conduct of the Friars on these occasions. As we have already seen in connection with Florida such conflicts were unpleasantly frequent, despite the pronouncements of Rome and of Madrid. Pope Pius V had laid down (in 1567) that the superiors of Missions were *parochi* in the Tridentine sense both for the Indians under their charge and for the Spaniards who lived in the vicinity and had no other pastor; this would seem to put them, as *parochi*, under the control of the local bishop. And this conclusion is suggested also by the consideration that Pope Alexander VI and Pope Leo X had declared that a superior of missioners was vicar-general of the bishop in whose diocese the missions were and could confer the Sacrament of Confirmation. Instead of limiting the power of the bishop this arrangement would appear to strengthen it, unless we are prepared to hold that a bishop can have less jurisdiction in his own diocese than his vicar-general.

It was during this visitation that a regulation of stole fees was put in force, to prevent undue exaction from the people. The stipend for a marriage or for a funeral with a Requiem Mass was put at sixteen dollars, a generous allowance for the times.

Bishop Crespo, transferred to Pueblo in 1734, was succeeded in 1736 by Martin de Elizacochea who in the very next year came on a visitation to New Mexico. The scantiness of the records for the period we are studying may be realized from the following fact: In the extreme western part of the State of New Mexico, not far from the Zuñi Reservation, is a rock known as "Inscription Rock," or, to the Spanish-speaking inhabitants, "El Moro." It contains a Spanish inscription, rude but easily decipherable, as follows: "Dia 28 de Sep de 1723as llego aqui El Illmo Sr Dn Martin de Elizacochea Obpo de Durango y El dia 29 paso a Zuñi ("On Sep-

tember 28, 1737, the Most Illustrious Señor Don Martin de Elizacochea, Bishop of Durango, arrived here and on the twenty-ninth he proceeded to Zuñi"). This is (I believe) the only record of the presence of this bishop in this corner of his diocese, a fact that we should otherwise not have known. So slight a clue helps us to realize how much of the history of those parts must be irrecoverably lost through the lack of some such accidental memorial.

The next bishop, Francisco Anselmo Sanchez de Tagle, never came to New Mexico, but his successor, Pedro Tamaron y Romezal, who ruled Durango from 1757 to 1768, seems to have done so, but this cannot be set down with certainty. At any rate he kept himself well informed as to what was going on and sent the King a complete description of the diocese. He was not pleased with all that he heard about (or saw in) New Mexico. For instance, he complained that out of a Catholic population of about 12,000, over 11,000 had not been confirmed; and he repeated the accusation made by his predecessor Bishop Crespo some thirty years before, that the Friars did not learn the Indian languages. He even offered to print at his own expense prayer-books in the local dialects if the Friars would write them, but as far as is known nothing came of this. Of course such neglect was reprehensible, but in justice it must be said that the Friars were not entirely to blame, because a royal order of long standing required that the Catechism be taught to the Indians in Spanish and the Missions were supplied annually with catechisms in that language, though there was no prohibition of the use of the native idioms as well. Perhaps the success the Spaniards had obtained in Mexico in making the Indians give up their own speech for that of their conquerors led to the idea that the same result would follow elsewhere. But the Pueblo Indians were quite different; and perhaps this matter of language can account in some measure for the comparative weakness of Spanish rule in New Mexico and the rapidity with which it declined later on.

For the rest of the eighteenth century the record of episcopal jurisdiction in New Mexico is a blank; and with the early years of the nineteenth century came the Napoleonic invasion of Spain, the dethronement of the Bourbons in favor of Bonaparte's brother, and the consequent upheaval culminating in the War of Liberation. This chaotic situation was of course reflected in Spanish

America, and the history of Mexico during the first decade of the last century is a record of disturbance and civil war finally leading to separation from the mother country and to the declaration of independence (1821). Of course the Church suffered dreadfully, all the more because of her close union with and dependence on the civil power. It had been the custom to send Friars from the mother house in Mexico to stay at a mission for ten years, the expense being defrayed by the Government. But now the Friars, being left without support, had to depart and the bishop (Olivares y Bénito) put diocesan clergy in charge and appointed a *Vicarius Foraneus* with the powers of judge in ecclesiastical cases. But this latter provision was at best a makeshift; what New Mexico needed was a resident bishop, and when the American colonies of Spain were permitted to send representatives to the Spanish Cortés, one of the first matters brought before that body was the request of the Deputy Pino for the establishment of a bishopric at Santa Fé. In the document he presented, he states that the population of the Province was 40,000; that it sent every year to the Bishop of Durango $10,000; but that no bishop had been there in fifty years (he himself had no idea how a bishop dressed until he saw one in Spain). While the Cortés debated this for three years, the Bishop of Durango got along as well as he could by appointing Vicars for New Mexico. And when the Spanish Government finally did decree, on January 26, 1818, the establishment of the long-desired See, her power had become almost extinct in that part of the world and the decree was ineffective.

After the declaration of independence, Iturbide was set up as Emperor and reigned until April, 1823, that is to say, for about eighteen months. After the fall of the Emperor, the Bishop of Durango, who had been elected a Deputy to Congress, returned to his diocese and appointed one of his clergy, San Vicente, Vicar-General for New Mexico. Arriving in 1826, this official undertook the transfer of more of the parishes to the diocesan clergy and made a pretty thorough, though not always kindly, ruler. His successor (appointed by the Chapter, since the See of Durango was then vacant) was Doctor Rascon who arrived in 1829 and was received with considerable honor, civil as well as ecclesiastical. He found the religious life in the Province in a state of sad decay; the number of priests had so dwindled that some of the Fathers had

more than one church to attend and for the first time since the establishment of Christianity there, it was necessary to permit priests to celebrate Mass twice on Sundays and Holy Days. In material goods also the Church was in a bad way, buildings, altar plate, vestments, etc., being hardly fit for use, but apparently nothing could be done to remedy this situation as it was impossible to persuade the people to contribute the necessary money. In the Spanish days the Government had attended to all these needs; now that this support was withdrawn and the people were called on to contribute they failed to respond, and in only three parishes was the revenue sufficient for actual needs. There being no bishop from 1824 to 1832, Doctor Rascon was empowered by Pope Leo XII to administer Confirmation in New Mexico.

In 1832 Durango received a bishop in the person of Dr. Antonio Zubiría y Escalante and it was during his administration that the connection between New Mexico and the diocese of Durango was severed. More than once (in 1823 and in 1830) the Mexican Congress debated the erection of New Mexico into a separate diocese but the project never advanced beyond the stage of discussion, so the Bishop of Durango had to look after the region as well as he could. Three times he came to New Mexico (1832, 1845 and 1850), but little could be done to revive religion though Pope Gregory XVI had empowered three of the priests there to administer Confirmation. When the war between Mexico and the United States broke out in 1846, Santa Fé was one of the first places to fall into the hands of the Americans, an event that filled Bishop de Zubiría with alarm as portending the utter ruin of Catholicism. In point of fact it was a blessing, as is evident from a comparison of present-day New Mexico and Arizona with Mexico. The war ended disastrously for Mexico, and she was obliged to cede an immense territory, though the United States generously paid fifteen million dollars for what had been acquired by force of arms. New Mexico was included in the transfer, the formal cession being made in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848), but the Bishop of Durango considered his authority unaffected by the political change and, receiving no notification from Rome to do otherwise, continued to regard himself as the ecclesiastical ruler of New Mexico. He even made a formal visitation in 1850, two years after the country had come under the

American flag, and issued an exhortation to his people to stand firm in the Faith now that it was endangered by contact with heretics. In the meantime, however, the American hierarchy had undertaken to make representations at Rome with a view to bringing New Mexico into the American hierarchical system, without (apparently) consulting Bishop de Zubiría. This was done in good faith, as not much was known about that remote region, and the authorities in the United States were unaware that New Mexico already had a bishop—had had one, in fact, for many scores of years. A similar oversight had occurred in California back in 1834, when the Picpus Fathers discussed the establishment of a Vicariate-Apostolic there without saying anything to the Bishop of Sonora, in whose diocese California was included. The difficulty of communicating in those days with such far-off corners of the world amply explains these incidents. But the fact that the Ordinary of Durango was not made privy to these negotiations created a little difficulty for the new Vicar-General. For Pope Pius IX proceeded without delay to erect the Vicariate of New Mexico, to take in Arizona, New Mexico and Colorado, and appointed to the new post Father John Lamy, a priest of the Diocese of Cincinnati. He was consecrated in 1850 and immediately set out for his field of labor; but an accident detained him a long time in San Antonio and he did not reach Santa Fé until the summer of 1851. He found the clergy indisposed to recognize his authority, claiming the Bishop of Durango for their superior. So the Vicar-Apostolic found himself under the necessity of undertaking a journey into Mexico to seek a personal interview with Bishop de Zubiría. As far as concerned the two bishops, the matter was amicably adjusted, but there was to be further trouble with the priests. This, however, is outside our present scope.

As to Arizona (the "Pimeria Alta" of the Spaniards), it was technically a part of the diocese of Durango, but the only occasions on which anything like episcopal jurisdiction was exercised within its boundaries were: 1. When Bishop Crespo went there in 1725, as we have already told; 2. When the Bishop of Sonora sent a certain Father Moreno there to make a visitation in 1797, though it was not subject to Sonora. When Arizona entered the Union Catholicism was about extinct. The additional territory acquired in 1853 (the "Gadsden Purchase") was added to the care of Bishop Lamy.

2. Texas

Though a French expedition under La Salle had entered Texas in 1685, Spain can justly claim the honor of first planting the faith there, for no permanent mission was established until 1690, when Franciscans from Mexico built their little chapel at San Antonio de los Texas. From that time to the end of Spanish rule, the missionary labors were almost, but not quite, continuous; the remoteness of the region from the centres of administration, the unfriendliness of some of the Spanish military commanders, and the character of the Indians, combined more than once to interrupt the work. In the circumstances there could not be frequent exercise of episcopal authority in those parts, though the more energetic and more enterprising of the bishops did manage to penetrate this outlying portion of their diocese. The vast region lying north and northeast of the Rio Grande was at first under the Bishop of Guadalajara. Then, in 1777, the See of Linares was erected, and Texas passed under that jurisdiction. When along with the rest of Mexico Texas separated from Spain, no change was made in ecclesiastical administration. But in 1833 Texas seceded from the Mexican Republic and set up an independent government, securing recognition from the United States, England, France and Belgium; and during this period the Church organization was reconstructed, the district being withdrawn from the diocese of Linares and constituted into a Vicariate-Apostolic. This was its status when Texas entered the American Union in 1845.

The earliest instance of episcopal rule occurred in 1700, under Bishop Felipe Galindo of Guadalajara. Learning, on a visit to the Mission of Dolores (in the modern Mexican State of Nuevo Leon), that the missions were prospering, he ordered the erection of four additional ones along the Rio Grande. This order was obeyed, but twenty years later the new missions had died out. That the Bishops of Guadalajara continued to rule in Texas may be gathered from the appointment in 1746 of a diocesan priest to the Parish of San Antonio and the publication there in the same year of the bishop's edict setting the number of Holy Days in his diocese (sixteen, beside Sundays). But the first visitation was made by the famous Bishop Tejada. We have already seen how conscientiously and unsparingly this prelate gave himself to the struggling community of St. Augustine in its declining days.

Transferred to Yucatán in 1745, he displayed the same zeal, personally investigating every part of his territory. He visited even the smallest ranch, and in more than one instance repaired an old church or built a new one out of his own income. In 1752 he was again transferred, this time to Guadalajara, and immediately set about studying for himself the state of affairs. Traveling over the immense territory then embraced in the diocese he reached Texas in 1759 and as a sample of the minuteness with which he conducted his inspection, we shall give a brief account of his experience at the Parish of San Fernando (at San Antonio). When after a ceremonious entry into the church, he had taken his place in the sanctuary, the secretary read the usual formal announcements and then the bishop delivered a lengthy address chiefly on the Sacrament of Confirmation. After this came the examination, and he was not greatly pleased with what it revealed. The only "ornament" in the building was a picture of Saint Ferdinand over the Altar. There was no tabernacle, no ambry, no censer, no copy of the ritual—in fact there was almost nothing. After this the bishop was not astonished at learning that hardly anybody ever attended service there, the people preferring to receive the Sacraments at one of the missions, which seem to have been kept in better condition. He did what he could, ordering the necessary improvements and the establishment of a school and of regular catechetical instruction. He also insisted that the parishioners attend their own church in future; and as preliminary to all these reforms he removed the pastor and put a more energetic man in his place. He remained there a week, confirming about six hundred and fifty, and then left to continue his inspection of the churches in other parts of Texas. In the course of his journey he suffered a fall from his horse which proved fatal, the good man passing away the following year without recrossing the Rio Grande. Thus his episcopal career was begun and ended within the present boundaries of the United States.

In 1777 the See of Linares (now usually known as Nuevo Leon, the See-city being at Monterey in that State) was formed out of Guadalajara, embracing the north-eastern portion of Mexico and Texas, but more than a quarter of a century went by before a bishop from the new diocese reached Texas. This was Primo Feliciano Marín de Porras who came in 1805, but was never to

make another visit, for soon afterward he was driven out by the revolutionary government of Mexico and died in 1815 without being allowed to return to his diocese. The year after his decease was signalized by an extraordinary "visitation." In this year (1816) one of the numerous armed bands then infesting Mexico invaded Texas under General Mina and with it came an ecclesiastic styling himself "Bishop of Baltimore." This person proceeded to perform episcopal functions and on at least one occasion celebrated Mass with pulque instead of wine. This was no other than the Rev. Servando Mier, a Mexican priest who is well known in connection with the Hogan Schism in Philadelphia. His career so amply illustrates the difficulties of the Church at that period that he deserves at least a few words here. He first acquired fame in Mexico by attacking, in a public sermon on a feast of Our Lady, the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, dear to Spanish hearts centuries before it was defined by the Pope. This caused so much commotion that Mier was cast into prison for trial but escaped. He next turned up in England as an intimate of the Rev. Blanco White, the apostate Spanish priest who figures in the early history of the Oxford Movement and is mentioned in Newman's *Apologia*. His next achievement was the exercise of episcopal authority in Texas, after which he made his way to Philadelphia, entering that city at the height of the Hogan trouble. He sided with the priest against Bishop Conwell and a document was published as coming from him in which a formal judicial decision was rendered against the bishop, while the trustees of St. Joseph's tried to make the parishioners believe that Mier was a Papal Nuncio sent to administer the affairs of the Church in the United States. Impossible as such a career may seem, it is not without parallels in the history of those times. The only tangible result of his ministration in Texas was a warning from the diocesan authorities in Linares against him and a censure from the bishop.

Mexico was now engaged in the struggle for independence and the bishop appointed to Linares in 1817 (José Ignacio de Aranzibia) found that his diocese had suffered severely from the political disturbances. He never succeeded in visiting Texas; in fact, he was forced to suspend even written communication, in consequence of the prohibition by the new government of pastoral letters. But Texas soon began to drift from the republic; many

Americans were crossing the border and making their homes there, and in 1833 the State seceded and established an independent government. It took three years of fighting to expel the Mexican troops and this did not help religion. So desperate became the condition of the Church that in 1838 Bishop Blanc of New Orleans, at the request of Pope Gregory XVI, sent the Lazarist Father Timon to investigate and report. He found the church buildings fallen into decay or seized by Protestants, the Catholic population dwindled to a handful and only two priests in the whole State to attend them. The result of his examination was that the Pope appointed him Prefect-Apostolic of Texas with the power to administer Confirmation. With Father Odin (the future Archbishop of New Orleans) as Vice-Prefect, he labored hard for about three years, obtaining priests and securing the return of a good deal of church property, and was so successful that in 1841 the Pope erected Texas into a Vicariate-Apostolic under Father Odin. This was its ecclesiastical government when in 1845 Texas entered the American Union.

3. California

What we now call the State of California and the (Mexican) Territory of Lower California went in the days of Spanish rule by the common name of "California" or "The Californias" and for nearly two centuries was supposed to be an island. The earliest penetration of Upper California (our State of California) was under Cabrillo in 1542, but except for an occasional visit by a Manila galleon, the Spaniards paid little or no attention to the land. It was not until 1769 that they undertook to occupy it, and then chiefly because of the advance of the Russians southward along the Pacific Coast. California was thus annexed to the Spanish crown as a buffer colony, just as Florida, had been two centuries before. And in both cases the danger apprehended from the intruders was religious as well as secular, the French, who attempted the settlement of Florida, being undesirable as Protestants no less than as foreigners, while the Russians were alien not only in race but in religion as well. There is no need to repeat here the tale of the Franciscan Missions established in California toward the close of the eighteenth century. Suffice it to say that their very success, coupled with the enormous distance from Mexico, rendered the episcopal annals extremely meagre. There was

little occasion for any bishop to exercise his authority until the nineteenth century, and then the one to do so was the Bishop of Sonora. This diocese, proposed by the civil authorities in 1770, was erected by Pope Pius VI in 1779 (the papal action being confirmed by royal order two years later) and embraced the (present) States of Sonora, Sinaloa and California, along with Lower California, the Cathedral being in Arizpe. The first bishop, Antonio de los Reyes, took possession in 1783, but as he was a Franciscan, the erection of the new diocese made no difference to the missions in California beyond the appointment of Father Serra as Prefect. Though active in visitations this bishop never reached California, and as time went on the suggestion was made and accepted (but not acted on) to appoint a vicar for each of the Californias. The connection, down to 1840, with the See of Arizpe remained exceedingly tenuous, about the only matters that the bishop had to deal with being cases of "The Right of Sanctuary," or the burial of a stray Russian (a schismatic, of course) who happened to die on the coast. The bishop's letter announcing the death of Pius VII and the accession of Leo XII and commanding the due observance of these events was officially circulated, as was a similar letter on the occasion of the accession of Pope Pius VIII. And in 1821, an episcopal prohibition of waltzing was published, but not over-scrupulously obeyed. Some years previously (in 1813) the Spanish Cortés decreed that the Indian missions more than ten years old be taken from the regulars and made parishes under the care of the diocesan clergy, but this decree which might naturally have been expected to bring about closer relations with the bishop, was not even published in Mexico until 1821, and as Spanish power was reduced to practically nothing by that time the decree remained ineffective. In 1833 the Congress of Mexico passed a law with substantially the same purpose, and in 1835 the same body voted the establishment of the Diocese of Both Californias, setting aside three thousand dollars for the outfit of the new bishop besides an annual salary of six thousand dollars and the "Pious Fund." Those familiar with Mexican history will be prepared for the information that nothing of this was paid. The Church, however, did her part. The Bull erecting the proposed diocese was signed by Pope Gregory XVI in 1840 and the bishop, a Franciscan named Francisco García Diego

y Moreno, was consecrated at Zacatecas the same year. He proceeded at once to his territory and fixed his residence at Monterey, from which he set out on a visitation that included Santa Clara, San Francisco, San Antonio and San José. But his position was most difficult. Religion had decayed in California as it had in the Southwest generally at the time and since the Mexican Government did not fulfil its glittering promises of financial support (all the bishop ever received was a grant of land on which he built a seminary) and the people could not be induced to support the Church, the outlook was almost hopeless. Some conception of the struggle that had to be carried on may be formed from the fact that when Bishop Moreno attempted to build a Cathedral at Santa Barbara he frequently had to carry the stones himself.

A second visitation in 1844 so discouraged him that from that time to his death he made no attempt to accomplish anything outside the vicinity of Santa Barbara. He had appointed a Vicar-General who was to act as administrator until a new bishop should be appointed, but this was almost immediately nullified by the breaking out of war with the United States. The transfer of California to American sovereignty coincided almost exactly with the discovery of gold, and then the "Great Rush" began. Among the crowds of fortune hunters were many Catholics who, whatever may have been their failings, had the faith, for they at once busied themselves with putting up little churches, and then petitioned the American hierarchy to have a bishop appointed. When the matter was referred to Rome a rather confused situation was revealed. Some persons there seem not to have known about the war between Mexico and the United States and the consequent change of government in California. Moreover, there was already under consideration a project that had been conceived some fifteen years before. In 1835 the Prefect of the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii) with one of his priests was driven out by the natives and took refuge in California. The two missioners (members of the Society of Picpus) were kindly received by the Franciscans and undertook work in the land to which they had come. As this was the time that the Mexican Government was destroying the missions it was thought that the Picpus Fathers might take the place of the Padres and communication was made to the Superior in Paris and to the Propaganda with this end in view, and as a

means to the success of the new laborers a proposal was advanced to erect California into a vicariate with one of the Picpus Fathers at the head. So far as appears not a word was said to the Bishop of Sonora (the Ordinary) or to the Mexican government, which would indicate the haziness of the ideas entertained regarding American geography. But, though the Mexicans drove out the two priests, the matter was still being discussed when the petition for a new diocese in California reached Rome. To add to the confusion a rumor spread that a person calling himself a Papal Nuncio was traveling about California. Evidently no time was to be lost. Temporary jurisdiction over California was conferred on Bishop Odin of Texas, and soon after (1850) Pope Pius IX erected the Diocese of Monterey and appointed Father Montgomery, a Dominican. On his declining the See, it was given to the Rev. José Alemany who was consecrated in Rome on June 13 of that year. And when in 1851 Lower California was severed from his jurisdiction the last link with the Spanish-American hierarchy was broken.

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FATHER ESCOBAR'S RELATION OF THE OÑATE EXPEDITION TO CALIFORNIA

(Here made known and published for the first time.)

A serious gap in the documentation of the early history of the Southwest has at last been filled through the discovery of the diary of Father Escobar here published. In 1604 Juan de Oñate, Governor and Adelantado of New Mexico, and founder of the province, made an important expedition from the Río Grande to the Gulf of California. Hitherto our principal source of information regarding the event has been Father Zárate Salmerón's *Relaciones*,[1] written many years after the expedition by a person who did not take part in it. Though Zárate's account bears on its face evidence that it was based on first-hand information, in our ignorance of his source it has manifestly been unsatisfactory.[2] The discovery of an original narrative of the expedition, therefore, is a long step toward placing Oñate's journey on a reliable basis. It adds to our satisfaction to learn that Zárate's account is founded directly on the diary by Escobar, and that our anchor heretofore has been more secure than we knew. It is only fair to say, moreover, that Zárate adds numerous details not given by Escobar, which must have been obtained from eyewitnesses.

Father Escobar's diary came to light recently in the Archivo General de Indias, that vast fountain of information concerning early American history.[3] It is given here in English translation. Its contents will be more intelligible if it is preceded by a brief sketch of Oñate's activities previous to the expedition of which the diary is an account.

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[1] *Relaciones de Todas las cosas que en el Nuevo Mexico se han visto y Savido, asi por mar como por tierra, desde el año de 1538 hasta el de 1626.* (Printed in *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, tercera serie, Mexico, 1856. Translated by Charles F. Lummis in *Land of Sunshine*, Vols. xi and xii, 1899-1900. The part relating to the California expedition was retranslated and published by Bolton in *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, 1542–1706, pp. 268–280. This version contains portions which Lummis, by oversight, omitted.)

[2] Apparently in 1626.

[3] It is contained in a file of papers entitled: *Carta del Marques de Montesclaros á S. M. Acompaña varias copias.* A. G. I. 58-3-9. Through the Newberry Library a transcript has recently been acquired by the Bancroft Library.

Having been entrusted in 1595 with the conquest of New Mexico, in the summer of 1598, Oñate reached the region of the Pueblo Indians with a colony of some four hundred persons and seven thousand head of stock. In his company he brought eight Franciscan missionaries, led by Fray Alonso Martínez as commissary, to undertake the conversion of the natives.

Headquarters were first fixed at San Juan, and later at San Gabriel.[4] On August 23 a church was begun at San Juan and its completion was celebrated on September 8. Next day a general assembly was held of representatives from all the country thus far explored; rods of office were given to some of the chiefs, and the various pueblos were assigned to the eight Franciscan missionaries, who soon afterwards departed for their respective charges.

The colony having been established and the pueblos having been placed under the friars, Oñate turned his attention to a search for more attractive fields beyond. Three regions especially beckoned to him and tugged at the adventurous spirit within him. These were the Llanos de Cíbola, or Buffalo Plains, Gran Quivira, and California, for the exploration of each of which expeditions were organized, in spite of the Adelantado's slender means.

In the middle of September Oñate sent Vicente de Zaldívar, accompanied by sixty men, to hunt buffalo on the plains to the northeast. Going through Pecos, where they left two missionaries, they continued to a point seventy leagues from San Juan, reaching the Texas Panhandle. Though they failed in their attempt to capture buffalo alive, they obtained a large supply of hides and meat and made the acquaintance of the Vaquero Apaches and of a large stretch of country.

While Zaldívar was away, Oñate, accompanied by the Father Commissary, went southeast and visited the great salines and the Jumano pueblos, then turned west with the intention of going to the South Sea, where Oñate hoped to find wealth in pearls. He made his way to Zuñi, and to the Moqui towns, whence he sent Captain Marcos Farfán with a party of followers to find the

[4] It has recently been shown that by June, 1601, the Spanish settlement and capital had been moved across the river to San Gabriel, below the junction of the Chama with the Río Grande. BOLTON, *op. cit.*, 203, footnote. In 1609 Santa Fé was founded.

mines discovered by Espejo eighteen years before. Farfán made the journey to Bill Williams Fork, found mineral veins, staked out claims, and brought back detailed reports. In the course of the expedition he visited Jumano Indians near San Francisco Mountains, and the Cruzados further southwest.[5]

In November Juan de Zaldívar followed Oñate, intending to join him in his expedition to the South Sea, but at Ácoma he was killed, with fourteen companions, by the Indians. News of this misfortune reached Oñate while on his way back to San Juan, in December, and in January, 1599, he sent Vicente de Zaldívar to avenge his kinsman's death. After a two days' assault, with hand-to-hand fighting, the Indians surrendered. The official diary laconically adds: "Most of them were killed and punished by fire and bloodshed, and the pueblo was completely laid waste and burned."

A few months later (1599) Vicente de Zaldívar, with twenty-five companions, made a three-months journey in another attempt to reach the South Sea. On the way he had difficulty with the Jumanos, and Oñate found it necessary to go in person with fifty soldiers to punish the offenders. Zaldívar continued his journey till he reached impassable mountains and a hostile tribe, at a point which, he was told, was three days from the sea. Exact data concerning this journey have not yet been acquired. So interested was Oñate now in the project of reaching the South Sea that he planned to go in person with a hundred men and prepared to build vessels. In April, 1601, he was all ready to start, but he changed his plans and went northeast instead.

His goal now was Gran Quivira, to find which he set forth in June (1601). He was accompanied by two friars and more than seventy picked men; he had in his caravan more than seven hundred horses and mules, eight carts, four cannon, and a retinue of servants to carry the baggage. His guide was an Indian named Joseph, who had led Zaldívar to the Llanos de Cíbola and who had accompanied Humaña on a previous expedition to Quivira. Going by way of Galisteo, Oñate crossed the Pecos to the Río de la Madalena (Canadian River). Descending that stream to a great bend 111 leagues from the pueblo of San Gabriel, he

[5] The interesting custom which gave rise to the name "Cruzados" is described below.

continued northeast to a point on the Arkansas River more than 220 leagues from the starting point. Fording the Arkansas, he visited the extensive settlement called Quivira, through which Humaña had passed. It was evidently at Wichita, Kansas. The Quiviras appearing hostile, the journey was now discontinued.[6]

The next two years were for Oñate a time of grave trials. When he returned from Kansas he found that most of his colony had gone back to Mexico, to avoid starvation, as they claimed, but as deserters, Oñate asserted. Just as he was pleading for three hundred additional men, under royal pay, to enable him to continue his explorations, grave charges of mismanagement and misconduct were made against him. He was ruined in fortune and his reputation was under a cloud. The great expectations with which the conquest of New Mexico had been begun had failed to materialize, and the province was already regarded as a "white elephant" on the government's hands. Moreover, just at this moment new interest was attached to California through the successful expedition of Vizcaíno, who returned in 1603 reporting the discovery of Monterey Bay.[7]

It was therefore with the hope of "making a hit" and restoring his prestige that Oñate again set out for the West in 1604. For the undertaking he raised a company of thirty men, most of them raw recruits, says Zárate. With him he took the new Father Commissary, Fray Francisco de Escobar, and Fray Juan de Buenaventura, a lay brother. Escobar, according to Zárate, was a very learned man, with a special gift for languages. That he was an interesting person his own diary attests.

Leaving San Gabriel in October, the party followed in the footsteps of Espejo and Farfán to Bill Williams Fork. Descending that stream to the Colorado they skirted its left bank to the Gulf of California, returning to New Mexico in April, 1605. Oñate had now re-explored practically all of the ground covered by the Coronado and Espejo expeditions and had opened new trails.

On his return to San Gabriel, Oñate set out for Mexico to make

[6] The foregoing sketch is based on the writer's account, *op. cit.*, 109–206.

[7] This paragraph is based on an unpublished study by the author entitled "The Last Years of Oñate's Rule and the Founding of Santa Fe," written in 1916.

known his success and retrieve his fortunes. Reporting his approach on August 7 from San Bartolomé, he was ordered back to New Mexico by the viceroy. In consequence, he sent Father Escobar forward to the capital, where he made the report here printed. New interest was now aroused in California, and in the "famous port" which Oñate had discovered, but it profited Oñate little, and two years later he resigned, discouraged. It seems quite certain, too, that the reports of the Oñate expedition, which depicted the Gulf as extending indefinitely north, had much to do with restoring the old belief that California was an island.

RELATION

No. 12. This is a copy, well and faithfully made, of a Relation which Fray Francisco de Escobar, of the order of San Francisco, and said to be Commissary-General of the provinces of New Mexico, appears to have given and delivered to the Most Excellent Marqués de Montesclaros, viceroy in this New Spain, of a certain exploration and of declarations made by the said Fray Francisco. Its tenor is as follows:

Three hundred and sixty leagues from the City of Mexico toward the north pole, on the banks of a large river called Río del Norte (since it flows toward the south) there are seven or eight provinces or nations of people of different languages, commonly called by the Spaniards "New Mexicans." There must be as many as thirty thousand souls. It is a very poor and cold country, with heavy snows, but is quite habitable for a small number of Spaniards if they have clothing with which to dress, and if they take from the pacified country[9] cattle with which to sustain themselves and cultivate the soil, for the country produces none of these, although cattle taken to it multiply rapidly, though it is too barren to raise great numbers of them.

The people of these provinces are very affable and docile. All are settled in pueblos, which, for Indian habitations, are very convenient, having many good *estufas* in each pueblo, which, with little fire, are very warm, and wherein they pass the cold and snows of winter.[10] Their dress consists of *mantas* of cotton, which they make in these pueblos, and of white and very well dressed buckskins, of which they have enough for their mode of living, for they are content with little. But they have far from enough to give them as tribute to the

[9] *Tierra de paz*, meaning conquered or settled country, as distinguished from the unsubdued frontier.

[10] *Estufas* were primarily ceremonial chambers, but it is noticeable that nearly all of the early Spanish chroniclers who had been in New Mexico regarded them as being designed in part to afford protection from the cold. Their opinion was, no doubt, founded on careful observation. Escobar, for example, had been in New Mexico many months and had been in most intimate contact with the Indians when he wrote the above.

Spaniards,[11] and this burden is so heavy for them that many desert their pueblos during the time for the collection of this tribute, and for this reason the amount collected is very small, although it is a great impediment to their conversion. If they were relieved of this tribute, and there were interpreters to preach to them and teach them our Holy Faith, I believe that most of them would receive it readily, but it will be with no little difficulty if the collection of tribute is continued. It is very harmful to them and of so little consequence to the Spaniards that, although collected each year, they suffer extreme nakedness, and that those who may have to live in these provinces, escorting the ministers of the Gospel, will be in no way able to forego the necessary aid of clothing to dress and protect themselves, and of cattle for food and to work and cultivate their farms and fields.

The Indians of this country plant maize, which is their ordinary food, and also frijoles and calabashes.[12] In the winter they use skins or hides of the buffalo, tanned and very well dressed, with very soft hair, which are brought to these provinces to exchange for cornmeal and cotton *mantas*, by the Indians who come with the buffalo,[13] and who live customarily in tents or portable houses made of the same hides.[14] Their ordinary pack-animals are dogs,[15] which they drive along the roads loaded.[16]

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[11] Twenty-five years later Father Benavidas wrote: "The tribute which the Indians pay them is for each house one *manta*, which is one *vara* of cotton cloth, and one *anega* of corn each year, wherewith the needy Spaniards maintain themselves." Ayer, Hodge, and Lummis, *The Memorial of Fray Alonso de Benavides*, p. 23. A *vara* is 33 inches, or a little less than a yard. A *fanega* varied at the time from a bushel and a half to two bushels and a half.

[12] *Calavasas*, variously used for pumpkins, squashes, or gourds.

[13] *Vacas de Cíbola*, literally, Cíbola cattle.

[14] The following description of the tents of these Indians of the plains is given by Vicente de Zaldívar, in a report of his journey to the east in 1598: "He camped for the night at that river, and on the following day, on his way back to the camp, he found a ranchería in which there were fifty tents made of tanned hides, very bright red and white in color and bell-shaped, with flaps and openings, and built as skilfully as those of Italy and so large that in the most ordinary ones four different mattresses and beds were easily accommodated. The tanning is so fine that although it should rain bucketfuls it will not pass through nor stiffen the hide, but rather upon drying it remains as soft and pliable as before. This being so wonderful, he wanted to experiment, and, cutting off a piece of hide from one of the tents, it was soaked and placed to dry in the sun, but it remained as before, and as pliable as if it had never been wet. The *sargento mayor* bartered for a tent and brought it to this camp, and although it was so very large, as has been stated, it did not weigh over two *arrobas*." Zaldívar, "Account of the Discovery of the Buffalo," in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, 226-227.

[15] Zaldívar gives the following description of the dog teams, or *travois*, of these Indians. "To carry this load, the poles that they use to set it up, and a knapsack of meat and their *pinole*, or maize, the Indians use a medium-sized shaggy dog, which is their substitute for mules. They drive great trains of them. Each, girt round its breast and haunches, and carrying a load of flour of at least one hundred pounds, travels as fast as his master. It is a sight worth seeing and very laughable to see them traveling, the ends of the poles dragging on the ground, nearly all of them snarling in their encounters, traveling one after another on their journey. In order to load them the Indian women seize their heads between their knees and thus load them, or adjust the load, which is seldom required, because they travel along at a steady gait as if they had been trained by means of reins." *Ibid*, p. 227.

[16] Everything to this point is omitted from Zárate's account.

From these provinces of New Mexico their Governor and Adelantado, Juan de Oñate, set forth on October 7 of the year 1604 with thirty soldiers, to discover the South Sea or Gulf of California. I went in his company, being commissary of the religious who were in the said provinces. Having journeyed fifty[17] leagues almost directly west, we arrived at the province of Cuñi, which contains six pueblos,[18] four of them being almost destroyed, although all are inhabited. The largest and chief one is called by the Spaniards Scibola, and the Indians know it by this name, although in their own language it is called Hauico.[19] All the pueblos together contain less than three hundred inhabited houses.[20] The people are very affable and tractable. They take to their houses and pueblos the Spaniards who pass through this province, and with great pleasure and affability serve and feed them with the foods which they possses. These consist of maize, frijoles, hares, and rabbits, in which the country greatly abounds.[21] They clothe or cover themselves with buckskins, and in winter with buffalo hides, which they carry from the provinces where the Spaniards now are; but what they use most commonly are *mantas*, which they make from a small palm, netted, like *yztea*[22] in New Spain or hemp in Spain, but not so strong. The houses in which they live are excellent, for Indians, all being of stone, and there being very good *estufas* in each pueblo for the cold of the winter, which is very severe.

Having journeyed about twenty leagues almost northwest, we reached the the province of Moqui, a country as poor and cold as the province of Cuñi or as those of New Mexico. It has five pueblos only, four of them being half destroyed and in ruins. Altogether they have less than five hundred inhabited houses.[23] The people are very friendly toward the Spaniards when they pass through this province, serving and feeding them with great pleasure and friendliness. Judging from what is exhibited by the Indians living in these pueblos, they plant and gather much maize and have more than those of the province of Cuñi. They also plant frijoles, calabashes, and cotton, of which they make *mantas*, coloring[24] them better than in other provinces, though the best *mantas*.

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[17] Zárate says sixty leagues. *Ibid.*, p. 268.

[18] Zárate adds that in all six pueblos "there are no more than three hundred terraced houses of many stories, like those of New Mexico." "Journey of Oñate to California by Land," in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, p. 268.

[19] Hawikuh. See Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, I, p. 539.

[20] Zárate says "three hundred houses of many stories." "Journey of Oñate to California," in Bolton, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

[21] Zárate says "more inhabited by hares and rabbits than by Indians." *Ibid.*, p. 268.

[22] *Iztli*. Zárate, *ibid.*, p. 268.

[23] Zárate, writing twenty years later, says "four hundred and fifty." *Ibid.*, p. 268.

[24] Here Zárate adds a paragraph on colors, but leaves out most of Escobar's descriptive matter, as well known in his day. *Ibid.*, p. 269.

of this land are coarse, and these, together with very well tanned buckskins, and in the winter with buffalo skins, constitute the clothing with which they cover or clothe themselves. There is very little wood and less water. In all this province there are very good *estufas* in each pueblo, so that with little fuel they are very warm all winter. The houses are not so good as those of the province of Cuñi, but are not very bad for their mode of life. Moreover, in this province, as in all the rest, they use no temples for their worship, although some houses in which they live have been seen to be dedicated to their ceremonies and worship, and to have in them some little idols of stone or wood, with figures of little animals, simple and ill-shaped, according to what I have been able to gather. I do not think that these houses are much frequented, nor by everybody, but only by the principal and oldest Indians.

Ten leagues from this province toward the west we arrived at a river called San Joseph,[25] because on its banks that feast was celebrated. At this point it runs from southeast to northwest. It is a river with dense groves, but does not carry much water except in the season when the snows melt, which is between March and June or July, during which time I should think one could take by this river to the Gulf of California and the Port or Bay of the Conversion,[26] many planks and beams, from some great pine forests which are not far from the stream. From the forests to the sea it must be more than one hundred and twenty leagues,[27] more or less, for I am sure that this river empties into another large one which enters the Port of the Conversion, of which I shall treat farther on.

Seventeen leagues from this river toward the West we reached another called San Antonio.[28] It ran from north to south between great mountain chains. From this stream onward the country is more temperate and warmer, and has plentiful pasturage and water. The river does not carry much water, although it runs all the year. It had many good fish.

Five leagues from this river toward the West we saw another as large as it and with as many fish. It is called the Sacramento. It ran from northwest to southeast along the skirts of a high range whence the Spaniards have obtained many copper ores from some mines discovered by Antonio de Espejo.[29]

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[25] Zárate says San José or Colorado, and adds: "They called it thus because the water is nearly red." *Ibid.*, p. 269.

[26] The Gulf of California. See below.

[27] Zárate says that "from here to where it empties into the sea there are more than a hundred leagues of pine forests." *Ibid.*, p. 269. This is not what Escobar says and is not exactly true to fact.

[28] Zárate states that before reaching the San Antonio River they crossed a "range of pine forest which was eight leagues across, on whose southern slope runs the San Antonio River, seventeen leagues distant from San José." *Ibid.*, p. 269. The San Antonio was clearly a western branch of the Río Verde of today.

[29] This point, adding new light on Espejo's journey, is omitted by Zárate. The latter, on the other hand, adds a description of the region of the Sacramento River. *Ibid.*, pp. 269-270.

In this country there are Indians whom the Spaniards call Cruzados,[30] from crosses made of cane which most of them wear on their foreheads. The origin of this custom is not known, but is thought to have come from Christians,[31] for when there are Spaniards in their country they wear them more commonly. The people are very friendly amongst themselves. They neither plant nor harvest maize nor frijoles, but live on the flesh of deer and wild sheep, for they have the skins of deer and the heads and horns of sheep, although the horns of the latter are very disproportionate in size. Of these there are many in this country, and of deer, from whose skins they make buckskin, with which all the men and women clothe themselves, for it constitutes their ordinary dress. They also eat maguey, tunas, mesquite, and a little fruit which grows on the cedars, of which there are great forests.[32]

We traveled ten or twelve leagues along the banks of this river to its source;[33] and having journeyed from there almost sixteen leagues west, we came to another river, which was called San Andres,[34] because it was discovered on that day. It runs toward the west between the high and very rough ranges, which are bare and without vegetation, all being almost bald rock. This may be due to the heat of the summer, which, judging from the appearance of the country, is great. Ordinarily the river does not carry water, except for short distances, where it bursts or gushes out from the sand, although it shows signs of great freshets.[35] From this river onward the country has a different climate, for it does not snow and has no manner of cold, nor did we feel any, although it was midwinter, being in the month of December.

Traveling along this river, almost always in its bed, for its banks were almost all of rocky cliffs, we arrived, after traveling twenty leagues,[36] at another river,

[30] The Yavapai.

[31] Zárate, writing twenty years later, adds: "The origin of this custom was not known at that time; subsequently it has been learned that many years ago there traveled through that land a religious of my father San Francisco, who told them that if at any time they should see men bearded and white, in order that they might not molest or injure them they should put on these crosses, as a thing esteemed by them. They remembered it so well that they have not forgotten it." *Ibid.*, p. 270.

[32] Zárate adds: "The men are well featured and noble; the women are handsome, with beautiful eyes, and are affectionate. These Indians said that the sea was distant from there twenty days' journey, such as they travel, which are calculated at about five leagues. It is to be noted that none of these nations was caught in a lie. They also said that two days' journey beyond there was a river of little water [Bill Williams Fork] by which they went to a very large one which enters the sea [the Colorado] and on whose banks there was a nation called Amacava [Mohave], and, a short distance beyond, many nations who plant and gather maize, beans, and gourds." *Ibid.*, p. 270. The Yavapai women are still noted for their good looks.

[33] The account here is more precise than the summary of it given by Zárate, who does not state that the journey was along the river. *Ibid.*, p. 270. Their distances likewise disagree.

[34] The main stream of Bill Williams Fork.

[35] The details contained in the last two sentences are omitted by Zárate. He, on the other hand, mentions the *pitahayas* of the Colorado.

[36] Zárate says twenty-four leagues. *Ibid.*, p. 271.

large like the Duero in Spain. It was named Río de Buena Esperanza, because we reached it on the day of the expectation or hope of the most happy parturition of the Virgin Mary, our Lady.[37] Where it joins the San Andres it flows from northwest to southeast, and from here turns northeast-southwest[38] to the sea or Gulf of California, bearing on either side high ranges, between which it forms a very wide river bottom, all densely populated by people on both sides of the river, clear to the sea, which seemed to me fifty leagues from there, a very little more or less, during all of which distance the river appeared to be navigable, according to men who understand navigation and as was inferred from its very gentle current.

The first nation of people whom we saw on this river was called Amacava.[39] We found them very friendly. They gave us maize, frijoles, and calabashes, which is the ordinary food of all the people of their river, and which they plant in all its bottom lands; but it did not seem to me that they had a great abun-

[37] The stream was the Colorado River. Zárate adds the statement that at its mouth the stream was called Río del Tizón.

[38] "Northeast" has become "northwest" in the Zárate account as printed.

[39] Zárate adds two very interesting paragraphs at this point, recounting incidents which may have been related to him by members of the party, or, perhaps, traditions which may have grown up in the course of twenty years. Zárate's account at this point is so different from Escobar's that it is inserted here. It is as follows: "The next day after having arrived, the adelantado sent Captain Gerónimo Márquez with four soldiers up the river to discover this nation of the Amacavas Indians. In a short time he brought two Indians, whom the adelantado regaled and sent to call the rest. They said that they would do it and that they would bring something to eat. On the day following, as the adelantado saw the Indians were making loads, he ordered that twelve soldiers should prepare to go to the settlement for provisions; but before the soldiers went, there arrived more than forty Indians loaded with maize, beans, and gourds. Then arose an Indian who was called Curraca, which in their language means Lord, and made a long speech, giving to understand, as was supposed, that he was pleased to have seen the Spaniards and that he desired their friendship.

"Here was heard the first news of the Lake of Copalla, whence they suppose the Mexicans set out who settled this New Spain. They described this lake and land and all its banks as densely populated. An Indian said Copalla very plainly and Captain Gerónimo Marquez told me that, hearing those Indians talk to a Mexican Indian, servant of a soldier, one of them asked, Whence comes this man? Is he perhaps from Copalla? because those from there talk thus. And those Indians also said that those of that language wore bracelets of gold on the wrists and on the fleshy part of the arms and in their ears, and that from there they were fourteen days' journey, of those which they traveled. They pointed to this language between west and northwest. The Indians also said that the Spaniards could travel by this river bottom all the way to the sea, and that it was ten days' journey, of those which they travel, and that it was all populated. This river can be navigated.

"They set out from here and traveled five leagues without seeing Indians, because the mountain was very rough and the road narrow and steep; but beyond this narrow pass there is a wide river bottom, very thickly settled. Here as many Indians came out with food to receive the Spaniards as in the last ranchería. They are of the same nation. Being asked about the sea they said that down the river it was nine days'

dance of maize, and I attribute this to their laziness, for the very spacious bottoms appeared to offer opportunity to plant much more, and for fields and Spaniards, although it had very little grass for cattle, since all the mountains and hills are bald, there being no grass except in the river bottom and not everywhere there. These Indians also obtain much food from mesquite, with which the entire bottom is covered, and from the seeds of grass which they gather in great quantity, which does not argue a great abundance of maize. Although we saw many and large corn patches, they were small in proportion to the large population.

Adjacent to this nation there is another on this same river called Bahacecha.[40] They speak a somewhat different language, although the difference, being slight, is no impediment, the dealings and communication between them being as if they were of the same language. As a people they are as friendly and tractable as the Amacava, if not more so. They welcomed us with great affability and pleasure, giving us of their slender stock of provisions in all the rancherías through which we passed, a great multitude of Indians, men, women, and children, accompanying us on the roads, with a desire to see guests never seen before, because one ranchería was not far from another of their own nation.[41]

The people of these two nations and of all this river are very fine looking and of good disposition, tall in stature, and well made. The custom among all the people who live along this river in regard to clothing is to wear none, but to go naked from the sole of the foot to the top of the head, the women merely covering their loins with two handfuls of grass or with twists of grass ready to hand,

journey, but if they crossed the river it was only four. This river they kept on the north and they traveled toward the northwest. It did not seem proper to the adelantado to leave off following the river down stream, so he continued, traveling through its bottom lands, seeing always many Indians, asking all of them about the sea, which they now knew was called 'acilla,' and all answered pointing to the west, northwest, north, northeast, and east, saying that thus the sea curved, and was rather near, for they said that from the other side of the river it was only four days' journey, and that that Gulf of California is not closed, but is an arm of the sea which corresponds to the North Sea and coast of Florida. All the Indians of this river are comely and good-featured; and the women are handsome, and whiter than those of New Spain, being people of whom the men go naked and the women in skins, having the loins covered. Always when these Indians travel they carry a lighted firebrand in the hand, for which I think it should be called Tizon River. Thus declared a soldier of this journey who had gone with Sebastian Vizcaino to California; he said that he went in search of the Tizon River, and I believe that had he reached it he would not have returned, as he did, for lack of food, because there is much here." "Journey of Oñate to California by Land," in BOLTON, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, 271-273.

[40] Bandelier regarded this tribe as either a branch of the Mohave or of the Hualapais. Arch. Inst. of Am. *Papers*, III, p. 110.

[41] Zárate adds some details here, and has some variations. He describes the dwellings of the Bahacechas, and recounts an interview with chief Cohota, who welcomed the Spanish party, and whose village was passed before Otata's was reached. Some of the reports ascribed by Escobar to chief Otata are ascribed by Zárate to Cohota.

without taking the trouble to cover any other part of the body. All wear their hair loose, and reaching only to the shoulders. This shelterless costume is possible because the country is not cold, for we did not feel cold during the whole time we were there, which was during the heart of winter. The language appeared to me easy, with no difficulties of pronunciation.

A principal Indian of this nation of Bahacecha, for he who is greatest among them is very unimportant and his occupations do not differ from those of the rest, told us, and after him many others of this river, we having shown him a coral, that they procured this substance not far from there, toward the south, and that the Indians extracted it from the sand during low tide. The Governor found some among the Indians of this river, and more in the province of Suñi when we returned, because the Indians who live toward the coral coast deal more with those of this latter province than with those of Buena Esperanza River. The corals are not fine. I do not know whether or not the reason is that this sea contains no finer, or whether those which the Indians bring are unseasonably cut by the waves, for they say that when they extract them from the sand they are already broken because the sea ejects them.

We learned also from this Indian, and from many others, by showing him some buttons of silver or iron, that, not far from here toward the west, five of their day's journeys, which are not more than five or six leagues each, this metal was to be found; and they said the same when they were shown a spoon made of silver, of which metal they declared they made large bowls in which they cooked meat, placing them on the fire, over the flames and coals. Placing in that way a plate of silver which we showed them, they declared that the bowls were like that, but larger and deeper; that they had the same sound as the plate; and that they would not break when thrown on the ground, and were not of clay like the bowls and jugs from which they eat. They gave us to understand that they dug this metal from a mountain on the other shore of the sea in front of an island[42] five days from where we were, toward which they pointed in the west, and to which they go in canoes or pirogues, whose form and shape they indicated on the ground.[43] They gave us to understand that the bowls

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[42] Zárate calls the island Ziñogaba. He does not mention the mountain in front of the island.

[43] Zárate adds: "To this island one goes by sea in canoes or boats, and since from the coast there it is only one day's sail, they set out in the morning and are there before sunset. They showed on the ground the size of the boat, drawing a line on the ground; he commenced to measure, and the boat was seventy feet long and twenty wide. On asking them if the boat carried a sail in the middle, the Indian took a stick and put it in the middle of the boat which he had drawn, with an Indian at the stern, making as if he managed the rudder. He then took a cloth and, stretching out his arms on the stick that he had set up, started to run as fast as he could, saying that thus the others ran through the water, and much faster. It is certain that if the Indians had not seen it they would not know how to draw it so perfectly. They said also that the inhabitants of that island all wear around the neck and in the ears pearl shells, which they call *xicullo*. They also told of an instrument with which they

were hollowed by digging out the bar and not by beating it, which caused me to fear that the metal of which they make them was tin, for the method of cutting and making them, according to my opinion, argues both great abundance and softness in the metal. There was the Indian who even told me that the metals of this island were like this, or that he had seen in it some of this metal, even though not all were like it. This is a sign that there was great abundance of it, from which it is to be suspected that it is tin, although all the Indians of this nation of Bahacecha declared it to be the same as the silver plates, and to have the same sound, and that they placed the bowls on the fire to cook meat in, all of which leave me in great doubt as to whether it may be tin or silver, a doubt which will be removed only by sight of the metal, if there is any, as so many Indians declare. They called this metal *naño querroo*.[44]

We also learned from the same Indian chief who told us the foregoing, and who was called Otata, that near there, at a distance of nine or ten days' journey, there was a lake on whose banks lived people who wore on their wrists yellow manacles or bracelets, which they made us understand, from *punsones*[45] of gold and of brass which we showed them.[46] Putting them on and wearing them on the wrists or arms, they said they were the same as that metal which those Indians wore on the wrists, and afterwards two old Indians asserted the same. When shown a small bar of brass they gave us to understand that the other metal was darker and that they called it *anopacha*, which name afterwards other Indians, who were three or four and more leagues distant from these, gave to a little brass watch which I carried, without being asked any questions at the time about this matter, from which it is clearly to be inferred that there is yellow metal in this country. Indeed, there is a name common in all the nation which signifies this yellow metal, but only among the Indians of the Bahacecha and Amacava nations, for when I asked about it of the other Indians whom we saw on the same river nearer the sea, they could tell me nothing about it, either because they did not understand me or did not know it. But in Bahacecha and Amacava there were so many who said it that they almost convinced me beyond doubt that there are both yellow and white metal in the country, although it is not certain whether or not the yellow may be gold and the white silver, for of this I have very grave doubts.

Having passed this nation of Bahacecha, whose ranchería extends seven or eight leagues[47] along the river bottom, on both banks, we arrived at another large river, which, though smaller than the Buena Esperanza, reached the

make the sound when they dance. It is a long stick from which are pendant many pieces of that metal of which they make dishes from which they eat; and, making a great noise, they dance in pairs to the sound." "Journey of Oñate to California by Land," in BOLTON, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, p. 274.

[44] *Nañe querro.* Zárate, *ibid.*, p. 273.

[45] *Punzón*, "The ring and shaft of a key worn on the flap of the coat-pocket by gentlemen of the bed-chamber to the King of Spain." VELAZQUEZ, *A New Pronouncing Dictionary of the Spanish and English Languages.* Part I, p. 526.

[46] By Zárate this incident is told of Cohota, before Otata was reached. Zárate. *op. cit.*, p. 273.

[47] An important detail omitted by Zárate.

saddle-pads of the horses. It was called Nombre de Jhezus.[48] This river joins the Buena Esperanza from the southeast twenty leagues above the sea. Above the junction, the River Buena Esperanza makes a turn of four or five leagues from north to south, because of a mountain chain which it cuts through.

Near this river there were four or five rancherías (for because the houses of all this river are *ranchos* I call its settlements rancherías) of people of a different language, from whom I learned that a continuous settlement extended all along the River Nombre de Jesus already mentioned, and that they planted maize, frijoles, and calabashes like the Amacavas and Bahacechas, and made *mantas* of cotton, some of which I saw, which are stitched like those of the provinces of New Mexico. The people or nation of the river of Nombre de Jesus are called Osera,[49] and from words which I learned from them I suspect (though having learned only a few I do not affirm it positively) them to be Tepeguanes, for seeing in the villa of Sonbrerete[50] a religious who was a Tepeguane interpreter, I learned that the dress of the Tepeguanes was the same as those of Osera; and I saw likewise that they agreed in the two or three words which I remembered,[51] for, having found these Indians less friendly, and more importunate and more ill-favored than any of those who lived on the River of Buena Esperanza, I learned fewer words of their language than of the Amacava.

The costume of the women of this nation of Ocara was the same as that of those encountered heretofore. That of the men differed only in the hair, which these wear very long, tied with a maguey cord twisted round the head.[52] Otherwise they go naked like all the rest. Near the rancherías of these last, twenty or more horses were left, since there was good grass for grazing, in order that they might make up for the lack of it which they had suffered, and that they might be able to return to the provinces of New Mexico; but when we returned from the sea we found that the Indians had killed and eaten thirteen of them.[53] We had almost certain evidence that they and no others were the guilty ones, although they denied it in great fear, and unanimously placed the blame on others; and we were forced under the circumstances to bear the loss in patience, since they inflicted it on us at the time when no one was rude in our presence, and when it was considered unnecessary to watch the horse-herd at night, as was true from the time when we set out from the provinces of New Mexico until we returned, so great was the friendliness of the Indians.

From the river of Nombre de Jesus to the sea, which I have said is twenty leagues, the river bottom appeared wider, the mesquite groves thicker, and the people much more numerous than heretofore, but of the same nation, with now and then a different one, although in dealings and communication the differ-

[48] This stream was, of course, the Gila River.

[49] Given as *Ozaras* by Zárate, p. 275. In Kino's time, a century later, the lower Gila River was inhabited by the Cocomaricopas, farther up, by the Pimas, and near the head, by the Apaches. The Oseras were probably the Cocomaricopas, or Maricopas.

[50] A city in the state of Zacatecas.

[51] This comparison of Oseras with the Tepeguanes is omitted by Zárate.

[52] Zárate adds that they wore their hair braided.

[53] This incident is omitted by Zárate.

ence was very slight, all having the same dress, the same friendliness, disposition, and nice courtesy as those of Amacava and Bahacecha. Like those encountered heretofore, they plant maize, calabashes, and beans, and gather much mesquite, and the river bottom is as good for Spanish crops. It appeared as fertile, but the land was also as devoid of grass and the hills and mountains as bald. It was impossible to determine whether the country had rain for the crops. We only saw many corn patches, none of them being irrigated. The river has some branches which all the year carry water, and from which, if the rain should fail, irrigating ditches might be constructed.[54]

The first settlement which we saw beyond the River Nombre de Jesus was called Alebdoma.[55] I learned from an Indian that it had eight rancherías,[56] not all of which could be seen, although all were in the bottom lands of the river. The first and largest of these eight rancherías had one hundred and sixty houses. I judged it to have two thousand souls, and the whole settlement, with its eight rancherías, as many as four or five thousand.

Following this there is another settlement called Coguana.[57] It has nine rancherías, all within a short distance. We saw some of them, and although we did not see them all we saw many people from all of them, who came to visit us. This settlement had another five thousand souls.

Near this is another settlement called Agalle. It had five rancherías,[58] and near it there was another called Agalecquamaya,[59] with six rancherías. These two settlements contained another four or five thousand souls.

Two leagues beyond this we saw another settlement called Cocapa. It extends to the sea, or to the place reached by the salt water, which enters the river from the sea some four or five leagues. This settlement has nine rancherías, and appeared to me the largest of all. We saw only two of the rancherías, one of which must have had a full thousand souls and the other less than five hundred.

It appeared to me that the entire population of the Cocapa would reach five or six thousand souls, because while we were there so many Indians assembled to see us that all judged them to exceed three thousand souls, whereas it seemed to me that there were no more than sixty women among them and very few

[54] This paragraph is omitted by Zárate.

[55] Halchedoma in Zárate's account, p. 276. The tribes from the Gila to the Gulf were of Yuman stock.

[56] In this passage Zárate uses the word pueblo where Escobar says ranchería. *Ibid.*, p. 276.

[57] *Cohuana* in Zárate's account. They were the Cuchan, or Yuma proper. *Ibid.*, p. 276. Zárate adds: "A great many of these went along with the Spaniards. There must have been more than six hundred men and women. They camped for the night with the Spaniards." *Ibid.*, p. 276.

[58] Zárate says *Haglli*, and that it had "one hundred pueblos." This number must be a mistake due to some corruption of the document. *Ibid.*, p. 276. Regarded as part of the Halliguamayas (HODGE, *Handbook*, I, p. 520.)

[59] *Talliquamallas* with six pueblos, according to Zárate. *Ibid.*, p. 276. These people are regarded as the Quigyumas. (HODGE, *Handbook*, II, p. 340). The Cocapa, mentioned below, are still so-called.

children, while from the rancherías farther back there were only seven Indians who had come with us as guides, for being two or three leagues from those farther back, and through fear of hostile Indians, as were all those of the other side of the river, who in that uninhabited forest might come out to kill them, those of the rancherías behind did not dare to go forward with us as hitherto had been the case, for there had been days when more than three hundred persons went with us along the roads.[60]

It seemed to me that the settlements and rancherías of people whom we saw on the river Buena Esperanza would number more than thirty[61] thousand souls, not counting those of the other bank of the river, who were hostile. Because they were hostile they did not cross over to see us. We heard that there were many people on the Río de Ocera and the Indians of this river told us of eighteen or twenty rancherías, all called by their names.[62] These are the ones who live toward the coral coast and who profit by the corals.

After having passed all these nations and all these settlements or rancherías, by whom we were welcomed with great friendliness and joy, being given in all of them maize, frijoles and calabashes (not great in amount nor in proportion to the great multitude of the people nor to our needs until we returned to the province of Moqui, for it was necessary to eat seven or eight horses before we arrived there on our way back),[63] on the day of the Conversion of the Glorious Apostle St. Paul, we arrived with great joy at the sea or Gulf of California, where we saw, according to the declaration of seamen, the finest bay, or port (for it is called by both names) which any of them ever had seen.[64] We called it the Port of the Conversion, since it was discovered on that day. It is formed by the Buena Esperanza River, where it enters the sea, with a mouth three or four leagues wide, according to the statements of the seamen who with me saw it. The mouth of the river is divided into two by a small isle which is in the middle, and is a league and a half or two leagues long. It runs from southeast to northwest, and provides a fine shelter for the bay, leaving each mouth a league and a half or two leagues wide. The island seemed to be of clay, which is the case with all the beach or coast of the bay. In it there are neither pebbles nor sand, nor reef, nor any sign of them. The bay appeared to be of good depth, even close to the shore. The Buena Esperanza River enters the sea from west to east, by the skirt of a mountain chain which runs toward the sea almost from north to south, or from north-north-west to south-southeast. A spur of the mountain chain enters the bay about six leagues farther inland. It ends in three points, low and round, the last higher than the other two. Beyond these, toward the land side, there is a

[60] Most of this paragraph is omitted by Zárate.

[61] Zárate says twenty thousand. *Op. cit.*, p. 277.

[62] By Zárate this item is transferred to the account of the Ocera tribe, above. *Ibid.*, p. 275.

[63] Omited by Zárate.

[64] According to Zárate only Oñate, the two friars, and nine soldiers descended to the sea at first, having left the rest in camp at the head of salt water. Later the rest descended. Zárate adds here: "So large is this port that more than a thousand vessels can anchor in it without hindrance to one another." *Ibid.*, pp. 277-278.

more elevated point, after which the mountain chain forms a spur which runs more than twenty leagues north-northwest, south-southeast, from which separately one may judge how the mountain chain enters the sea. On this coast the sea runs east and west, and makes a turn behind this mountain chain toward the north and northwest according to the assertions of the Indians, none of whom knows its terminus.[65]

Among the Indians of this coast there were found many white shells, and others green, of various shades, from which some of the Indians to whom we put questions said that they were accustomed to obtain large pearls, but we were unable to find any of them among the Indians, although the Governor made great efforts to do so.[66]

When we returned from the sea and had reached the Vacecha nation, where the Indian chief, called Otata, had told us of the islet containing the silver or tin which they told us were there, and of the yellow metal of which the Indians of the Laguna made bracelets, he and many others reaffirmed the same things which

[65] While Zárate's description of the harbor is taken from Escobar, the language is quite different, and in some places it helps us to understand this passage. *Ibid.*, p. 277. Zárate adds interesting items regarding the ceremony of taking possession, and gives other data regarding the stay at the Gulf, as follows:

"The adelantado, Don Juan de Oñate, took possession of this port in the name of his Majesty, and gave possession in his Majesty's name to the Father Commissary, Fray Francisco de Escobar, in order that our sacred religion may settle and peop.e the land and the others next to it and round about, and that we may occupy ourselves in the conversion of the natives in the place and places most suited to our mode of life.

"We took this possession on the 25th of the month of January, day of the conversion of the Apostle St. Paul, patron of those provinces and of the Custodia of New Mexico, in the year of our Lord, 1605, for the glory and honor of God our Lord.

"This done, the adelantado and those who had gone with him returned to the camp, in order that the rest of the soldiers might go and certify to the sea. They did so, the space of four days being spent therein. Some soldiers stated that they had seen tunny-fish, and that they knew them because they were men from Spain. Having seen this, they came back by the same way they had gone, being as well received by the Indians and with the same hospitality as when going." "Journey of Oñate to California by Land," in BOLTON, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, p. 278.

[66] This paragraph is omitted by Zárate, but he adds a paragraph regarding the return visit to the Oceras which Escobar omits entirely. It is as follows: "Having arrived among the Ozaras Indians, as they had already inquired of the other nations, and all had said that this nation is very extensive and runs along the coast, and that these are the ones who get from the sea the coral which they call *quacame*, they made inquiry and found a few. They said that since they were a long distance from the coast they did not have many; but further up the Buena Esperanza River, among Indians of this same nation, a few more were found, and in the province of Zuñi still more were found and bartered for. They said the Indians of the valleys of Señora [Sonora] brought them there to sell; and that they are no more than seven days' journey from there, and that they get them out of the sea, and are not far from there; and that this nation extends to that place. This sea they pointed out toward the south and southwest. Father Fray Francisco de Escobar found that from the

they formerly had told us, without any contradictions,[67] although it had been more than forty days since they had first told us, there being added the testimony of many other Indians, who affirmed it anew, some of whom were nearer the island and who had come to see us. They are seen to be of different language and costume, are friends of the Vahacecha, and know their language.

This Indian Otata also told us of all the people who live on the Buena Esperanza River, clear up to its source, showing this to be close to the sea, toward the northwest, as did many others likewise, all asserting that the Gulf of California makes this complete turn. He told us also of the people who live between the Buena Esperanza River and the sea, making a drawing of the country on a piece of paper, on which he indicated many nations of people so monstrous that I will make bold to affirm them with no little fear of being discredited through not having seen them, which I was unable to do, on account of the lack of men and horses, and particularly of supplies, which the Governor experienced, and on account of the little or no grass which the country promised, so that for horses so weak and worn out as were most of those which we had, the enterprise appeared almost impossible, and that to hope to achieve it with such lack of means appeared no little temerity; and although to some it must appear temerity for me to recount things so monstrous and never seen in our times (nor even in the past if it is remembered that they have been seen always by witnesses so far away that the door is always left open for each one to believe what he pleases), nevertheless, I make bold to relate what I have heard stated to a great multitude

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province of New Mexico to the sea, on the road alone, there were ten different languages. This priest was so able and had so fine a memory that wherever he went he promptly learned the tongue, and so on the return journey he talked with all the nations and they all understood him." *Ibid.*, *p.* 278-279.

[67] Zárate adds intimate data here. "On examining them again, they made the same statement as on the journey going, without varying it in any respect. They went through the same performance with the plate of silver as on the outward journey, as has been said; only they added that this silver was taken out of the top of a hill which was on the further side of the island behind which the sun hides when it sets; and they said that they cut it out with a hard instrument. Being asked if it was of the same they said no, and gave to understand that it was something dark-yellow; and being shown a small sheet of brass, they said it was not of that material. Seeing that they were not understood, one of them rose and went to the adelantado's kitchen and took hold of a copper kettle and said that the instrument with which was cut the metal of which they made their bowls and pots was like that.

"The Spaniards set out from here, and Chief Otata came forth to the road to receive them, with a great following and a tumult of ceremonies, as is their custom, flinging their bows and arrows to earth. He gave the Governor a string of white beads which he wore on his neck, and the Father Commissary another, which among them is a great gift. These he had sent to the island of Ziñogova to purchase with some cotton *mantas*, which on going the Governor had given him for that purpose. It is plainly to be seen that the island is near, since he had gone and returned in so short a time. They again examined them about everything and in nothing did they contradict themselves." *Ibid.*, p. 279-280.

of Indians in my presence, for since I affirm as true only what I saw with my eyes, I may dare affirm it.[68]

The Indian Otata told us in the presence of many others, who corroborated his story, of a nation of people who had ears so large that they dragged on the ground, and big enough to shelter five or six persons under each one. This nation was called in its own language Esmalcatatanaaha, and in the language of this Bahacecha nation Esmalca, which means "ear," the etymology of the word indicating the characteristic of the nation.

Not far from this nation, he said, there was another whose men had virile members so long, they wrapped them four times around the waist, and that in the act of generation the man and woman were far apart. This Nation was called Medará Qualchoquata.

Likewise, we learned from this Indian and the others that near the foregoing people there was another nation with only one foot, who were called Niequetata people.

They told us of another nation, not far from the last, who lived on the banks of a lake in which they slept every night, entirely under the water. These people, they said, were the ones who wore handcuffs and bracelets of yellow metal, which they called *anpacha*.[69] This nation was called Zinoes, which with more propriety we might call Hamaca Coemacha Fish. We learned from all these Indians that near this last nation there is another which always sleeps in trees. The reason we could not ascertain, whether it was for fear of wild beasts or insects, or from some natural characteristic or custom of theirs. This nation they called Ahalcos Macha.

The monstrosities of another nation, which they said was near this one, did not stop here, for they sustained themselves solely on the odor of their food, prepared for this purpose, not eating it at all, since they lacked the natural means to eliminate the excrements of the body. This nation they called Xamoco Huicha.

They told of another nation not far from this one which did not lie down to sleep but always slept standing up, bearing some burden on the head. This nation they called Tascaña Paycos Macha.

Here we learned from all these Indians what we had learned many days before from many others, great and small, that the principal person obeyed by

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[68] Zárate, who wrote after two decades had passed, balks at the tales told by Otata and repeated by Escobar. He closes with the following paragraph: "They told of many prodigies of nature which God had created between Buena Esperanza River and the sea, and which have caused incredulity in the hearers. When we see them we will affirm them under oath; but in the meantime I refrain from mentioning them, and pass them by in silence. And to put an end to this journey, I will say that after having endured much hardship and hunger (even coming to eat their horses) which, lest I be too long, I do not recount, they reached the villa of San Gabriel on their return, all sound and well, and not a man missing, on the 25th of April of the year 1605. There they rested, and were as well received as they had been anxiously awaited." *Ibid.*, p. 280.

[69] These are the people who, according to Zárate, lived on the Lake of Copalla.

the people who lived on the island was a woman called Ciñaca Cohota,[70] which signifies or means "principal woman" or "chieftainess." From all these Indians we learned that she was a giantess, and that on the island she had only a sister and no other person of her race, which must have died out with them. We learned that the men of this island were bald, and that with them the monstrosities ended.

It appears to me doubtful that there should be so many monstrosities in so short a distance, and so near us, for the Indians asserted that they were all on one river, which it was necessary to cross in order to go to the island, which was only five days' journey away (this would be twenty-five or thirty leagues). But, even though there might be still greater doubt of all these things, it seemed yet more doubtful to remain silent about things which, if discovered, would result, I believe, in glory to God and in service to the King our Lord; for although the things in themselves may be so rare and may never before have been seen, to any one who will consider the wonders which God constantly performs in the world, it will be easy to believe that since He is able to create them He may have done so, and that since so many and different people, in a distance of two hundred leagues testify to them, they cannot lack foundation, being things of which these Indians are not the first inventors, for there are many books which treat of them, and of others even more monstrous and more wonderful.

And if they do cause wonderment, it does not seem to me that the way to their verification or to that of the other reports, of riches and of the communication of the seas, is very difficult. If perchance they do communicate, by the favor of heaven, with less than one hundred men it will be possible to verify the truth of all these things, both of the silver and the tin, or whatever metal it is on the island; of the gold, copper, or brass bracelets or handcuffs worn by the Indians of the Laguna; of the coral; of the pearls which the Indians declare are contained in the shells which we found, and which the Governor and so many Spaniards declare there are in the Gulf of California; and of the turn which the Indians say the Gulf makes toward the north and northeast, not a person being found who knew its terminus; as well as of the monstrosities reported by so many Indians of ten different nations, scattered through more than two hundred leagues, some saying that they had seen them and others that they had heard of them.

We learned likewise from the Indian Otata and many others that on the River of Buena Esperanza, toward its source, there were many buffalo, and very large deer, who wander amongst them[71] And they said that from a point six days from the source to the mouth, which is where it enters the sea or the Port of the Conversion, it was thirty days, the entire distance being settled by people who plant maize like the Amacava. This being the case, as the Indians testify, wherever the buffalo lives there can be no lack of grass, and the country must be colder. And thus it seems to me, saving a better judgment, that the exploration could be better made by land and by sea from the source of the River Buena Esperanza, for since the Indians say there are so many buffalo, there must be

[70] In Zárate's account as printed the name becomes Ciñacacohola. *Ibid.*, p. 276.

[71] For Zárate's mention of this see note 68.

grass for us and for the horses and even for farms. The Indians gave us to understand, also, that the maize was better and grew higher, and that the calabashes were better. And there would be the same convenience for making the exploration by water, for the Indians declare that the river rises near the sea, although there is no more reason to believe them in this than in other matters of which they told us. And it might be more convenient to build there some barks or some sort of bergantine, for in the Port of the Conversion there is no timber, unless it is brought from the pineries which are on Río de San Joseph, and whence I think it can be carried by its current clear to the sea, although I do not affirm it, as I have not seen what obstacles there may be.

After we had passed from the River Buena Esperanza into the country of the Cruzados, when we asked about all the nations of monstrous people, some of the few whom we saw there when we returned told us of them and in the province of Moqui three Indians of this same Cruzado nation who were there, gave us the same report, saying that they had heard it from people of their own nation who had come from the sea. Another Indian of another nation, called Tacabuy, who lived on the Rio de San Joseph, gave the same report, declaring, when he was questioned, that he already knew it. Some Indians of the provinces of Moqui and Çuñi and many of these provinces of New Mexico, when we returned and questioned them through the interpreter, declared that they had already heard, before the Spaniards came to their country, of some of the monstrous nations. And two chiefs of the Theguas nation also declared that they had heard of them, and had seen in these provinces of New Mexico savage Indians all covered over with hair, on body, arms, and legs, who had come from the west, with many shells like those which we had brought from there. When we were at the Río Buena Esperanza some of the soldiers told me they had heard from the Indians that there were some of these savages between the Buena Esperanza River and the sea, but because I was not able properly to verify the story, and because the Indian chief Otata said nothing about them, I paid no attention to the report.

This is the outcome of our expedition, and what during it we saw and heard of the Río de Buena Esperanza, and of the sea coast. May it please the Majesty of our sovereign God that such sufferings as were endured on our journey from hunger, cold, snow, and a thousand other inconveniences, borne for His divine love and through zeal for the conversion of souls, may not be lost, but that they may have been to some purpose, in order that His divine Majesty may be served, and His holy Faith extended, and that so many people who are blind and ignorant of the road to Heaven, and of their salvation, may know it, and that the royal crown of the King our Lord may be amplified and augmented.

When we returned from the journey, in the province of Moqui, which is seventy leagues distant from the site now occupied by the Spaniards, the Governor found among the Indians some stones which appeared to be minerals. Looked at in different ways they presented different colors. Their colors commonly are two, red like garnet and green like emerald, but the natural color appeared rather to be red, some being better than others. The stones of themselves, it is well known, being small, are of no value, and appear to be little esteemed, but because the mines or mine whence they are obtained might be of

value, they were brought here in order to see if some lapidary might know them. The Governor, not knowing what they might be, made no effort to discover them, although in one of the pueblos where the Spaniards now live there is a mine which seems to be the same stones. Likewise, some pebbles, or small stones, were found, three of the largest of which were the size of chick-peas, and more sparkling and of brighter color than garnet. They appear to be from the same mine where the said stones are, although this could not be verified, because the Indians would not admit it nor disclose the mine.[72]

FRAY FRANCISCO DE ESCOBAR,
Commissary.

In the City of Mexico on the 25th day of the month of October, 1605, before His Excellency, the Marqués de Montesclaros, Viceroy of this New Spain, appeared Father Fray Francisco de Escobar, and declared that this memorial and relation, which was shown to him, was presented to His Excellency, and that the signature in it, where it says "Fray Francisco de Escobar, Commissary," is his, and that he made it, and recognizes it. Likewise, he swore *in verbo sacerdotis*, placing his hand on his breast, that what he has said in this memorial is the truth, and what took place on the expedition, and what he thinks about it. And he signed it with his name, in the presence of the secretary, Pedro Diaz de Villegas, and Martin de Santiyusti, being in this city. The Marqués de Montesclaros. Fray Francisco de Escobar. Before me, Martin Lopez de Gauna.

And immediately, on the said 25th day of October, 1605, His Excellency ordered to appear before him four men, who said their names were Captain Francisco Rascon, Captain Juan Belarde Colodro, Alférez Pedro Sanches Monrroy, and Sergeant Francisco Bido. And at the command of His Excellency, I, the present notary of government, was ordered to receive the oaths of the before-named men, and that they be shown this memorial and relation of Father Fray Francisco de Escobar, Commissary. And they, having sworn before God and Holy Mary, and with the sign of the cross, which they made in due legal form, and having promised to tell the truth, and being shown the said memorial and relation, of the said Father Fray Francisco de Escobar and the signature upon it, and having read it through paragraph by paragraph they declared that its entire contents were true, and that they knew this because they were in the places and parts named, in company with Don Juan Oñate, Governor of New Mexico, and the said Father Commissary, and that this is the truth, under charge of the oath which they have taken and signed. And they signed it with their names, except Pedro Sanches Monrroi, who said that he did not know how to write. The Marqués de Montesclaros. Francisco Rrascon. Juan Velarde. Francisco Bido. Before me, Martin Lopez de Gauna.

And immediately they were asked by his Excellency how many people they had left in the camp of the Spaniards, and each one separately replied that there must have remained about fifty or fifty-three persons of all ages. They were asked about how many Indians had been baptized, and they said that since the camp had been established in the villa which they called San Gabriel, more than nine years ago,[73] there had been baptized from five to six hundred persons, big and little, but that of these they do not know how many are still living, except that they understand that

[72] This paragraph is omitted by Zárate.

[73] Oñte entered New Mexico in 1598, or only seven years before the date of this declaration.

some of them have died, and that the failure to be baptized is not due to the Indians, but to the fact that the religious refrain from baptizing them through not knowing the language.

On being asked if, when they reached, at the mouth of the river, the sea which they saw toward the south, they sounded the mouth of the river in order to ascertain its depth, they replied that they did not sound it, since they had no instruments for this purpose, and knew only that the mouth appeared to be soundable, and that a soldier named Juan Rruiz dived into the water and said that it was of good depth.

Being asked if there was anyone who ascended any high point or peak to look toward the sea to find out if they could see the land in any other direction than that of the coast where they were, they said that this attempt was not made because the country was level.

Being asked if the shells and stones which had been shown them were the same as those of the journey, they replied in the affirmative, and that as such they recognized them; and likewise that the Indians of that province gave them some pieces of metal which they brought, being the ones shown them. All of which they declared, under the oath which they had taken, to be the truth, and they signed with their names. The Marqués de Montesclaros. Francisco Rrascon. Juan Belarde. Francisco Bido. Before me, Martin Lopez de Gauna.

This transcript I have had made at the command of His Excellency the said Viceroy Marqués de Montesclaros, of the City of Mexico, on the 27th day of the month of October, 1605, and it is correct, being witnessed by Alonso Pardo and Melchor de Maturana, citizens and residents of Mexico.

And at the end I made my sign, in testimony of the truth.

Martin de Gauna. (*Rubric*)

Corrected. (*Rubric*)

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BISHOP McQUAID OF ROCHESTER

HIS PASTORAL WORK IN NEW JERSEY (1848-1868)

The past year of 1918 was memorable in the annals of Rochester. It marked a triple anniversary commemorating events of the utmost significance in the history of local Catholicism. As early as June 30, 1818, the *Ontario Messenger* of Canandaigua, New York, gave notice that "the Rev. Dr. O'Gorman, a Roman Catholic Priest, and Rector of St. Mary's Church, Albany, will preach at the Court House in this village, this day, at *six o'clock* in the afternoon and at the village of Williamsburg, in the town of Groveland, on Sunday, the 5th day of July next, at 11 o'clock in the forenoon." There is reason to believe that the zealous missionary also made his way to Rochester, which was within easy reach both from Canandaigua and Williamsburg. At all events John McGuire of Rochester found a place on the board of trustees, organized under the direction of the Rev. Dr. O'Gorman at the beginning of the next year for the parish church of all central and western New York at Utica, to which there was also elected Charles Carroll of the Genesee River, the Catholic founder of Rochester, who resided at Williamsburg.[1] Consequently, the year 1918 is justly regarded the centenary of the first Mass in Rochester. Fifty years later the newly created Diocese of Rochester received its first Bishop, the Right Rev. Bernard J. McQuaid, who at first "was determined not to accept, and had in this the encouragement of his own Bishop, but" March 13, 1868, Archbishop McCloskey was able to write Archbishop Spalding, "he has finally yielded to considerations such as have been pressed on the Bishop-elect of Buffalo."[2] He was consecrated in the Cathedral of New York, July 12, 1868, and took possession of his See four days later. The year 1918, therefore, is also the golden jubilee of the Diocese of Rochester. The most the new Bishop could do the first years of his episcopate for ecclesiastical education was the establishment of a Preparatory

[1] Copy of certificate of incorporation, January 26, 1819: *Religious Associations*, p. 37. Utica Courthouse.

[2] Letters to Archbishop Spalding, File No. 35: Baltimore Cathedral Archives.

Seminary at his return from the Vatican Council and to persevere in planning and saving for the realization of what he himself regarded as the crowning work of his life, his theological seminary. Twenty-five years after his arrival, he was able to open St. Bernard's Seminary to its first students with strong hopes for its development "into a model seminary, glorious in its fulness, its thoroughness, its endowments, its adaptability to its end, encompassed by priests whose early days were spent within its walls, and where they learned that consecration of the soul to God for the neighbor's saving was the noblest end."[3] Teaching was begun in September, 1893, and so the year 1918 is finally also the silver jubilee of the St. Bernard Ecclesiastical Seminary.

I

The early years of Bishop McQuaid's life were anything but promising of such success. Misfortune visited his family in his childhood in overflowing measure. The Record of Burials in St. Patrick's Cemetery, New York City, June 15, 1827, has the name of Mary McQuade, years 33, place of nativity Ireland, and place of death Paulus Hook. The same book, March 27, 1829, records the burial of an infant, Patrick McQuade, three months old, with New Jersey assigned as the place of its nativity and death. If this is the child of Bernard McQuaid, the Bishop's father, as seems to be the case, the widower married again, giving a stepmother to his family. Three years later the *Bergen County Courier*, May 9, 1832, informed its readers that "an inquest was held last Wednesday, May 2, before Stephen H. Lutkins, Esquire, in this city, on the body of Barney McQuade. Verdict of the Jury 'that the deceased came to his death by blows inflicted on him by John McCosker.' Both these men were employed at the Jersey Glass Factory. McCosker has fled." As it might be expected, the Record of Burials in the Eleventh Street Cemetery, New York City, May 3, 1832, has the name of Bernard McQuade, years 32, place of nativity Ireland, place of death New Jersey.[4] Life with his stepmother was such that Bishop McQuaid, even

[3] BISHOP McQUAID, *Pastoral on Seminary Collection*, August 20, 1894.

[4] Burial Records in Cemetery Office, 24 E. 52nd St., New York City.

to the day of his own death, could not shake off the bitter memories of the woman who abused him terribly in his childhood. All this misery came to an end when he was brought to the Prince Street Orphan Asylum, New York City, where he found a home with the Sisters of Charity. A terse entry on the books of the Institution has the following record of his life there: "Bernard McQuaid, aged 7 years, entered the R. C. O. A., Aug. 20, 1832, and was discharged June 4th, 1839, aged 14 years. He was sent to Chambly College, Canada."[5] In the Orphan Asylum he found "a prudent and wise guide" in Mother Elizabeth Boyle, and as late as February 14, 1907, he gratefully called to mind "the blessing of coming under her gentle and even piety and saintly example."[6] After Bishop McQuaid finished his preparatory studies in Chambly College, he entered St. Joseph's Seminary, Fordham, which was then in its infancy. When he had completed his studies there, he was ordained by Bishop Hughes on the feast of the Holy Name, January 16, 1848.

Looking over the past towards the end of his life, Bishop McQuaid wrote: "I wonder at my length of days, for in my first days of priestly work I was a frail and delicate man, apparently destined to a short career."[7] Nevertheless, Bishop McQuaid was unsparing of himself from the very first years of his missionary life as pastor of Madison in New Jersey, of which he was in charge from 1848 to 1853. His *Register of Baptisms*, even in the first months of his priestly life, gives evidence of his ministration to Catholics living in Union, Essex, Morris, Warren, and Sussex counties;[8] there are only three more counties in the present Diocese of Newark. As Bishop McQuaid declared in his sermon at the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, it was, "while journeying through this district, hunting up stray sheep of the fold," that "the experience was acquired that without schools our children, and especially those of mixed marriages, would be lost."[9] However, his observant mind had noted this crying need even before his advent in New Jersey.

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[5] Office Archives, 462 Madison Ave., New York City.
[6] Bishop McQuaid to Mother Xavier: St. Elizabeth College Letters.
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] First Baptismal Record in the Rectory of St. Vincent's Church, Madison, N. J.
[9] *Memorial Volume of III Plenary Council of Baltimore*, p. 175.

> I used to look at those boys in New York, everywhere crowding our streets, but not crowding our churches, and many a time I had occasion to say to myself: If God had not been kinder to me than to these, might I not be much worse? God in his mercy had given me the opportunity of a Christian education. Could I not, then, in common gratitude, try to gain children entrusted to my care; could I not try to teach them to know this same God by a Christian education?"[10]

He did make the attempt at the first opportunity, so that Bishop McQuaid later could write to Dean Flynn:

> You can claim that in Morristown you have the second oldest Catholic school in the State of New Jersey uninterruptedly kept up. Madison has the first. I established both in a very humble way, it is true; but they helped to establish the principle that Catholic schools were as necessary as churches.[11]

About a month after Bishop McQuaid opened his Morristown parochial school, Bishop Hughes, whom ten years before the anti-Catholic teaching and influence of the public school system moved to fruitless efforts to secure an equitable share of the public school funds for Catholic schools, issued a pastoral with the significant statement:

> I think the time has almost come when it will be necessary to build the school-house first, and the church afterward. Our fellow-citizens have adopted a system of education . . . from which they have attempted to divorce religion under the plea of excluding sectarianism from elements of education and literature. For myself, I may be allowed to say that I do not regard it as suited to a Christian land, whether Catholic or Protestant, however admirably it might be adapted to the social condition of an enlightened pagan.[12]

A larger field of operation opened up to Bishop McQuaid with the creation of the bishopric of Newark. One of the first official acts its Bishop had to enter on his diocesan register is dated October 18, 1853: "Revd. Michael Madden appointed to Madison in place of Rev. B. J. McQuaid, who comes to Newark as Pastor of the Cathedral."[13] Archbishop Corrigan in the *Register of Clergy, Diocese of Newark*, has briefly described the activities of the newly appointed Rector in the See of Newark until his removal as Bishop to Rochester in 1868:

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[10] Sermon: *Blessing of the corner-stone of Morristown school*, Church of the Assumption, November 25, 1886. FLYNN, *Story of a Parish*, p. 187.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 152.

[12] HASSARD, *Life of Archbishop Hughes*, p. 338.

[13] *o. c.*, p. 1: Newark Diocesan Archives, Seton Hall College.

> Pastor of the Cathedral, and right arm of the Bishop for many years. Built and rebuilt Seton Hall College. Introduced Sisters of Charity, and was foremost in promoting all diocesan works. Vicar-General after F. Moran's death.[14]

Bishop Bayley had also come to consider the parochial school house "second in importance only to the House of God itself."[15] Moreover, he regarded a diocesan college "of the highest importance for the upholding and furthering of our holy religion." The college which he had in mind was intended not only for the Christian education of the lay youth, but also for the training "of young men of the diocese who gave signs of a vocation to the priesthood."[16] Seton Hall College was finally opened on the Chegaray farm near Madison September 1, 1857, with the Rev. Bernard J. McQuaid as President, to which office the Rev. Daniel Fisher was appointed the second year. However, July 16, 1859, Bishop Bayley had to make the following entry on the Register of the Diocese:

> Have been obliged to reappoint the Rev. Father McQuaid to the Presidency of the College, he still retaining the Pastorship of the Cathedral. It is more difficult to find a good College President than to find a good anything else in this world. All the College needs to ensure its permanent prosperity is a President. Everything else is there.[17]

The next spring the Marble House near South Orange was bought, and became the Seminary, as a separate college building was erected there for the opening of school work at the new site in September, 1860.

The *Annual Catalogues* of Seton Hall College attest the steady growth of the institution, and especially reveal the organizing hand of a strong man conscious of the purpose of his work in the education of Catholic youth. He never became guilty, even in the humble beginnings of his College, of advertising for the education of Protestant children, and yet the College developed so rapidly despite war-time conditions that its President had to advise parents in the *Catalogue of* 1862-63 to "make an early

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[14] *o. c.*, p. 7; *ibid.*

[15] BAYLEY, *Hist. Cath. Ch. in New York*, p. 162.

[16] Bp. Bayley to Propagation of Faith, France, February, 1856; FLYNN, *Catholic Church in N. J.*, p. 280; August 1855; *ibid.*, p. 277.

[17] *o. c.*, p. 74.

application, as many applicants are refused admission at the opening session in August." Seton Hall College became so popular with its patrons that there was no decrease in the attendance, but a steady increase, even when the tuition was raised, according to the *Catalogue of* 1863-4, to $300, and two years later to $500. However, it must not be imagined that the institution was not severely tried in the early years of its existence. The *Catalogue of* 1863-4 had to report "the burning of the gymnasium and the apparatus belonging to it."[18] A few years later a much more disastrous fire threatened its destruction, but it only served to prove the invincible tenacity of purpose and the unfailing resourcefulness of its President in adversity. His circular to the patrons and friends of Seton Hall College gives ample evidence of this.

> The ruins of the burnt building are being removed. Arrangements for rebuilding the new College are going on.
>
> I would be the most fainthearted of men, if I were to hesitate one moment in going on with my work. The general cry is, "Give us something larger, grander, more suitable for college purposes." It is my intention with God's blessing and your kind help to do so.
>
> A little plain talk with regard to my financial means will not be out of place.
>
> The new building will cost $50,000. My insurances amount to $19,000; there are $4,000 worth of materials on hand; Bishop Bayley will order a general collection in all the churches of the Diocese which will amount to $10,000. The balance I must find elsewhere. I can look only to those parents who appreciate the work SETON HALL is doing for their children; to the personal friends of Bishop Bayley, who will deeply sympathize with him in the heavy and unexpected burden that has been placed upon him by this calamity; and to those friends that I may have found in my labors in behalf of education, and who have felt kindly towards me for all I have tried to do for the welfare of their children.
>
> I, therefore, look anxiously and earnestly for the assistance that the well-wishers of SETON HALL may be able to render in this trying moment. Whatever they may be able to give or obtain from their friends, be it much, be it little, will be most thankfully received.
>
> I need not add that all our benefactors will be earnestly remembered in the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass.
>
> B. J. McQUAID.[19]
>
> Seton Hall, Feb. 2, 1866.

[18] *o. c.*, p. 27.

[19] Seton Hall College Catalogue, 1865-6, p. 23, *sq.*

The *Catalogue* of the very next Academic Year announced that "since last Commencement Day the work upon the New Building has been carried on steadily until it has almost approached completion. The little that remains unfinished can await a replenished treasury."[20] The character possessed by such a man could not fail to impress those who came into contact with him. Thus the Rev. William McCloskey, later Bishop of Louisville, wrote of the President of Seton Hall College to Dr. Corrigan, the future Bishop of Newark and Archbishop of New York, then in charge of the Seminary department attached to the College:

> From what I saw on my late visit & from the little conversation I had with him, I must say that I have the highest appreciation of his energy and zeal. He is doing a greater work than I think even he is conscious of, but the full fruit is to be reaped hereafter. Be not discouraged then at the hard work that comes up before you & in shapes that you did not anticipate. With such a man one must not stand on trifles. So cooperate with him warmly, generously, & enter into his every wish for the temporal prosperity of the College while you do all in your power to advance the Spiritual or rather ecclesiastical interests.
>
> Bear in mind his many good qualities and forget your own trials for his zeal, which, if it sometimes run over & flood his neighbor's fields, is always well meant.[21]

Old Seton Hall College near Madison was sold to the Sisters of Charity of St. Elizabeth, and was the beginning of St. Elizabeth's Mother House, Academy, and College at Convent Station. The foundation of this Community to take charge of parochial schools, orphanages, etc., in the Diocese of Newark was even more important than the creation of Seton Hall College. "My whole soul," Bishop McQuaid wrote Mother Xavier later, "was wrapped up in the future success of the Diocese of Newark, and the strongest conviction I had was that there never could be success without a sisterhood for the diocese, and independent of all outside superiors."[22] The great difficulty was to get Sisters with whom to begin the Community. Mother Margaret of the Cincinnati Sisters of Charity, an early companion of Mother Elizabeth Bayley Seton who was the foundress of the American Daughters of Charity and

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[20] M. A. C. Private Correspondence, 1863-1879, September 7, 1865. New York Archdiocesan Archives, Dunwoodie Seminary.

[21] *Ibid.*, January 30, 1867.

[22] February 20, 1907: St. Elizabeth College Letters.

aunt to Bishop Bayley, wrote the latter August 4, 1858, "to send three or four good subjects who might be trained" at Cincinnati "and come back next Spring,—when" the Community there "could probably lend" Newark "one or two good Sisters, for a year at any rate, to enable them to get fairly under way."[23] The advice bore good fruit, and Bishop Bayley's *Register of Newark Diocese* duly notes, November 29, 1858:

> The Rev. Father McQuaid started this morning with five young women for Cincinnati, where they are to enter the Noviciate of the Sisters of Charity, then to return to us next summer with some of the Sisters to commence our new House of Sisters of Charity of St. Elizabeth . . . I purchased Col. Ward's old Mansion last week to serve as a Mother House.[24]

However, when the time came, the Sisters of Cincinnati found it impossible to send any Sisters to New Jersey. Nothing could be done but to appeal to Archbishop Hughes to employ his powerful influence with the Mount St. Vincent Sisters of Charity in behalf of the new Community, which they had refused to help before. Sister M. Jerome of St. Vincent's Hospital, New York City, explained to the Cincinnati Sisters the change of attitude on the part of the New York Sisters of Charity in a letter, October 13, 1859:

> As you had been so generous, we had to do something, and have consented to give him two Sisters, but all the merit must be yours for the foundation of this new house, as I do not think our people would have consented, only that those good girls were with you and are ready to commence.[25]

Sister M. Xavier was appointed Superioress of the new Community with Sister Catherine as assistant. The new Sisterhood naturally looked to Father McQuaid, the zealous pastor of the Cathedral, for guidance and direction, especially as Mother Xavier and Father McQuaid were the spiritual children of the same saintly Mother in religion. On the occasion of the diamond jubilee of Mother Xavier, Bishop McQuaid wrote to her, February 20, 1907:

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[23] Bishop Bayley to Mother Margaret, August 23, 1858; Mt. St. Joseph Mother House Letters, Hamilton County, Ohio.

[24] *o. c.*, p. 67.

[25] Mt. St. Joseph Mother House Letters.

> Sixty years ago . . . I was preparing for ordination and you were in your noviciate. It was Mother Elizabeth who received you into the community and under her you received your first lesson in religion. To her I owed my vocation, and without her help I could never have found my way to the priesthood. Then so early in our religious life we came together, as I might say, fellow-workers in Christ's service . . . I was fully conscious of my inability to train up a religious community. There was only one course to follow, and that was to do the best I could and leave the rest to God. Under His care, blessings and prosperity came to the brave Sisters. My instructions came from a full soul, based on the little experience I had acquired in the Seminary and my early years in the priesthood. Certainly, that beginning in the old Col. Ward property was small and humble, and it needed warm words of encouragement to keep up the courage of the young aspirants.[26]

It has become almost a matter of custom to give the credit of founding Seton Hall and St. Elizabeth's to Bishop Bayley. There is every reason, however, to believe that success would not have crowned his efforts, if it had not been for the indomitable energy and zeal of Father McQuaid. According to the latter's testimony, "two thirds of the diocese were against Seton Hall for years, and three fourths were sneering at St. Elizabeth's," but he added: "I had one natural gift in high degree, it was not a saintly one—the more the opposition, the stronger the determination to succeed in spite of the devil and every one else."[27] What was worse than this was the fact that he had "much difficulty . . . to induce Bishop Bayley to let (him) begin," and he had "much greater difficulty . . . more than once to keep (Bishop Bayley) from breaking it up."[28] This was in regard to Seton Hall. Under the circumstances Bishop McQuaid later believed it wise on his part not to preach at the Month's Mind of Archbishop Bayley when invited to do so. He wrote some of his reasons to Bishop Corrigan, who was best able to appreciate them.

> In a calm review of the Archbishop's episcopal career, necessarily much would have to be said of Seton Hall and the Sisters of Charity, and the credit of both in whole be placed to his account. While it pleases me to have this done by others, it scarcely suits me so far to forget the

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[26] St. Elizabeth College Letters.

[27] *Ibid.*, July 22, 1905.

[28] Bishop McQuaid to Archbishop Corrigan, March 15, 1886: *Bishops and Dignitaries, 1886-1887*, New York Archdiocesan Archives, Dunwoodie Seminary.

truth. *Qui facit per alium, facit per se* is true in one sense, but not in every sense.

My services to Bishop Bayley were for fifteen years as disinterested as it was possible for them to be. They were substantial services whose fruits abundantly remain. He commanded them gratis, and they were as much as are ordinarily done by three priests. I never expected an acknowledgement or reward, and I never received any. My being Bishop of Rochester is through no act of his; we both labored to effect a change in the arrangement.

No man has sincerer respect and regard for the Archbishop than myself. His solid piety and genuine virtues I admire and venerate. All my disengaged masses are for his soul and will be for many a day to come. In no other way can I fulfil my duty towards one who was my bishop for fifteen years, and whom as such I obeyed and served in the work of God's Church. If I served the man, and not the Church, then I got no recompense in this world and I need not expect any in the next.[29]

Neither Seton Hall College nor the new Sisterhood of St. Elizabeth absorbed all Father McQuaid's energy and zeal. He was also active as pastor of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Newark. The *Catholic Almanac* of 1859 gives some insight into the organization of the parish. The parochial school had on its register 280 boys and 300 girls, while the Sunday Schools show an attendance of 1200. The living Rosary was divided into 95 bands with a total membership of 1421. The Children's Society of the Blessed Sacrament had 700 members. There was also a Young Men's Catholic Association, of which Rev. B. J. McQuaid was president. He had built for its use the Catholic Institute, 61 and 63 New Street and 14 South Essex Street, comprising a library, a lecture hall, a reading room, a book store, a ball court, a gymnasium, a billiard room, music rooms, etc.[30]

While Father McQuaid was thus alive to the spiritual interests of his flock, he also gave proof of zealous devotion to patriotic duty, which he urged by word and example when the Civil War threatened the integrity of the United States. April 22, 1861, Bishop Bayley made an interesting entry on his *Diocesan Register:* "Today we hoisted the American Flag on the Cathedral, it being the day of a great Union Meeting. Father McQuaid made a

[29] October 25, 1877: *Bishops and Dignitaries*, 1886-1887, New York Archdiocesan Archives, Dunwoodie Seminary.

[30] *o. c.*, pp. 85, 88.

speech in front of the Court House. Nothing can exceed the enthusiasm of the people in rushing to the defence of the Capitol, a sad necessity apparently."[31] The Pastor of the Cathedral was too necessary a man in the diocese to be spared for the war. "Gov. Olden," writes Bishop Bayley on May 11, "has appointed the Rev. Geo. H. Doane chaplain to the New Jersey Contingent, on my nomination."[32] Nevertheless, Father McQuaid also went to the front towards the end of the war, when he had reason to believe that proper care was not given to the spiritual welfare of the brave soldiers who were sacrificing their lives for the country in the closing struggle of the bloody conflict. At once he determined to investigate the matter personally and to supply what was lacking if it was in his power to do so. On May 18, 1864, he arrived in Washington, and three days later wrote an interesting letter to Bishop Bayley from Fredericksburg, where he was the only priest in the place, though the city was literally a hospital.[33] His services were well remembered by Dr. Kilroy, Stratford, Ontario, Canada, in a letter written as late as March 30, 1903: "thirty-nine years ago in May, he came to my tent at Acquia Creek on the Potomac just after the battle of the Wilderness and assisted nobly in taking care of the wounded."[34] He remained on duty there till a priest could be sent from New Jersey to take his place when he returned home.

Here new duties devolved upon him on the death of the Vicar-General, the Rev. Patrick Moran. In September, 1866, Bishop Bayley noted in the *Diocesan Register:* "I have appointed the Revd. Bernard J. McQuaid, President of Seton Hall College, Vicar-General of the Diocese." When Bishop Bayley's health broke down the following winter, the administration of the diocese was thrown upon the new Vicar-General, who seized the opportunity for a little effective house-cleaning that avarice, intemperance, and some minor evils in a few of the diocesan clergy had made very necessary. He would have liked to sift some more chaff from the wheat, as he wrote Bishop Bayley: "If you could manage to send me two or three good priests, I would

[31] *o. c.*, pp. 92.
[32] *Ibid.*, pp. 93.
[33] *Letters to Archbishop Bayley*, File 42, L to Z, Baltimore Cathedral Archives.
[34] Letter to Mrs. Tracey, Rochester, N. Y.

rid you of some trouble that you will be sure to have one of these days. There are some of your Priests that would be much better in heaven than on this sinful earth. Still, make sure of what you bring, as importations and ex-religious are very uncertain investments."[35] The Vicar-General sent his bishop accounts of all his doings as administrator of the diocese. However, he was careful to warn Bishop Bayley not to become disquieted over these matters. "You must not suppose that there is any trouble in the diocese. I am always sure to be right, and when I put my hand on a poor fellow, I take a firm hold until he yields. Some of them may not have much love for me, and no doubt will never vote for me as Bishop, but they keep quiet and mind me."[36] He also believed his administration would bear good fruit later. "Many will rejoice at your return, and I devoutly hope that they will be able to appreciate a gentle, kind hearted, and unsuspecting Bishop when they again come under his immediate management." There can be little wonder that the government of the diocese under these circumstances, in addition to his other work, allowed Father McQuaid no leisure, for he wrote Bishop Bayley: "I have not been away from the diocese, nor am I likely to absent myself until your return, as I find that administering a diocese and a College is work enough for a man's whole time and attention."[37]

As Father McQuaid was closely identified with so many works of Newark Diocese, it is hardly surprising that he should have opposed his own nomination to the newly created Diocese of Rochester. He was not, however, on the original list of candidates for that bishopric. The minutes of the special meeting held for the erection of episcopal sees and vicariates-apostolic at the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore, show that Bishop Timon of Buffalo, from whose diocese the new See was divided, presented the names of three priests, Rev. James M. Early, Rev. Martin O'Connor, and Rev. Joseph McKenna, whom the prelates of the New York Province also thought worthy to be com-

[35] May 24, 1867. *Letters to Archbishop Bayley.* File 42, L to Z: Baltimore Cathedral Archives.

[36] May 27, 1867. *Ibid.*

[37] May 24, 1867. *Ibid.*

mended for the new Diocese of Rochester.[38] Later some difficulty arose in regard to the candidates on this list, for Bishop Timon, December 26, 1866, wrote to Archbishop Spalding: "I would like to know the objection against Very Rev, James M. Early, first on the list for Rochester. He, I believe, to be unexceptional and the best could be named."[39] Nevertheless, Father Early's nomination was rejected in favor of Father McQuaid.

On the eve of his departure from New Jersey, a fine appreciation of his life as Father McQuaid was given by the Rev. William McNulty of Patterson in the address that he presented to the Bishop-elect in the name of the Clergy of the Diocese of Newark.

> The diocese, whose infant growth you have fostered, and for whose prosperity you have so unwearedly labored, while exulting in your elevation, parts from you with regret. The Bishop loses a faithful and efficient auxiliary, the clergy an estimable associate, the people a tried and true friend, ever watchful over their well being. The confidence which entrusted to your care the most important interests of religion and education has never been betrayed; for under your supervision there arose and now flourish institutions of which an older diocese might be proud. A noble college for the complete training of Catholic youth has by your hopefulness and perseverance been placed upon a basis of future success; and the time-honored order of Sisters of Charity, under your wise direction, has become a fountain of incalculable good in leading youthful souls to God. In the midst of these many cares, with this weight of responsibility bearing you down, we have seen you ever prompt and cheerful to relieve your brethren in the pulpit, at the altar, and in the confessional. Gratitude calls for this acknowledgement and ennobles it, and frees it from the suspicion of idle panegyric. . . . We congratulate the clergy and faithful people of Rochester on their first Bishop.[40]

REV. FREDERICK J. ZWIERLEIN, D.SC., M. H.,
St. Bernard's Seminary,
Rochester, N. Y.

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[38] II Plenary Council Baltimore. Actus Conventus specialis etc., Die xvi, xvii Octobris. Administration Archbishop Spalding. File 39, Baltimore Cathedral Archives.

[39] Letter to Archbishop Spalding. File 36. *Ibid.*

[40] *Newark Journal,* April 10, 1868.

MISCELLANY

I

INTERROGATORIO Y RESPUESTAS OF FR. JOSÉ SEÑAN, AUGUST 11, 1815

(Contributed by Rev. Zephyrin Englehardt, O.F.M.)

In October, 1812, the Spanish Government, through the Minister of Foreign Relations, issued a list of thirty-six questions which were to be answered by all missionaries among the Indians. For California this list, called *Interrogatorio*, was sent to the Bishop of Sonora, whence it was transmitted to the Superior of the Missions. The latter forwarded the document as a circular to the nineteen missionary establishments existing at the time, with directions to make replies on all points in writing, and to send the paper to his Mission of San Buenaventura. Accordingly, "one and all," Professor A. L. Kroeber of the University of California writes, "they wrote as they thought, simply, truthfully, and without regard to style." Hence "we have here put down by observers on the spot, more than one hundred years ago, what the best ethnologist of to-day could not obtain more than fragments or traces of."[1]

From the replies returned to him by the missionaries, Fr. Presidente José Señan compiled his own *Respuesta*, which will be reproduced presently. To avoid waste of space the questions are omitted, as they can easily be inferred from the answers. However, the topics of the Interrogatory in their order were these: Races, their origin, languages, affection for wives, education, agriculture, mechanical arts, affection or aversion to foreigners, complaints, their remedies, inclination for reading and writing, means to inculcate love for Spanish, virtues, superstitions, catechism in native idiom, moral and political conditions, marriage customs, medical treatment, calendar, food, drink, sun or moon worship, traditions, funeral customs, fidelity, veracity, vices, trade and money, harvest customs, whether irascible, punishments, human sacrifices, rich natives, chiefs and caciques, mutual service, music, instruments, songs, prominent men, eternity, dress.

INTERROGATORIO Y RESPUESTAS

Viva Jesus, Maria, y José [2]

Reply of the undersigned Presidente of the Missions in this Alta California to the Interrogatorio addressed to the Rt. Rev. Bishop of

[1] *Mission Record of the California Indians*, pp. 2, 3. Berkeley, Cal., 1908.

[2] *Live Jesus, Mary, and Joseph*—Salutation used by some Fathers. Others would write *Dominus det tibi pacem, God grant thee peace.*

Sonora on the sixth of October in the year 1812, by His Excellency Don Ciriaco Gonzalez Carvajal, Secretary of the Interior of the Government of the Dominion beyond the Sea, and circulated by me at the request of Don José Joaquin Calvo, administrator of said diocese.

Replies

1. The population of our Missions is composed of pure Indians without any mixture. Their Missionary Fathers are Europeans, with the exception of two who are Americans.[3] There are in every Mission also the families of the small guard of which individuals some are Spaniards, some are mestizos,[4] and some are of other castes; but all have the characteristics of conquerors, generally known as the *gente de razon*,[5] and there is in this province scarcely a thought or knowledge of any other class.

2. The *gente de razon*, with the exception of one or the other individual among the officers and troops, who are Europeans, very few, however, all came here from Sonora, Sinaloa, and Nueva Vizcaya in order to colonize these establishments. The Indians are natives of the rancherías[6] in the vicinity, children of pagan parents, save those born in the Mission according to the years of their respective founding. Neither the neophytes[7] nor the pagans offer any account of their origin; but, if conjectures be of value, we may say that they came from Asia, it being now certain that America is very near, and almost adjoining Asia in the northeast. Nevertheless, it is most probable that the ancient Mexicans on their long peregrinations examined this country, and that some remained because in ill-health, or exhausted, and many more on account of their fancy and free will. There is in this country no negro whatever, either native-born or foreigner.

3. Our neophytes speak their own language, but some, although imperfectly, speak our Spanish. The number of languages in this province is prodigious. Within fifteen, ten, and even fewer leagues in distance, they speak a distinct language, and scarcely do they understand one another.

4. In general, our neophytes love their women, and on arriving at a somewhat mature age they attend and assist them as true wives. The

[3] Fr. Luis Gil y Taboada and Fr. Antonio Catarino Rodríguez, both natives of Mexico.

[4] Children of a white man and an Indian woman, *or vice versa*.

[5] People of reason. For brevity's sake the term will be retained.

[6] *Rancheria* means a great or small collection of Indian huts. The word is derived from *rancho*, a word originally applied by the Spaniards in New Spain to the place where food was distributed to laborers or soldiers.

[7] Convert Indians.

young men, when they observe their wives pregnant, nursing, or in protracted illness, show them little sympathy. They love their children well enough, but they give them very little education in their pagan state. They are born among the mountains and in the ravines like savages, feeding on wild seeds, and are without either agriculture, or arts, or the occupations necessary in a civil life. Nor can their dulness inspire or impress their children with this knowledge. At the present time, the Missionary Fathers supply these defects in their neophytes by educating the parents and the children, and also by inducing them to till the soil, work as masons, as carpenters, weavers, and at other necessary occupations; for the Missionary Fathers shirk no labor to give them a Christian, rational, and civil education.

5. Neither our neophytes nor the heathen Indians distinguish or know Europeans from Americans. By them all are called *gente de razon*. It may be said that they are more favorably inclined towards them than hostile, much more so now that they know very well the object of our coming, and the temporal and eternal advantages of the Christian, rational, and civil life.

6. No signs of hatred or of any particular complaints against the said nations being observed, this article offers no subject. The paternal protection of the missionaries for the neophytes, as for their own children, restrains the *gente de razon* from inflicting vexation;[8] and if any individual on any occasion transgresses, a remedy is immediately applied by means of their officials, and thus by this simple expedient all live in peace.

7. One or the other of the neophytes, moved by curiosity rather than by utility, may manifest some inclination for reading and writing. Some of the boys will, at times, draw characters on the walls with charcoal to imitate our own; but in their pagan state they have not the slightest idea thereof. Only on the ground and on tree trunks they sometimes draw the figures of certain animals.

8. It is not as yet easy to point out any means to induce these poor neophytes to devote themselves to understand and speak Spanish. For the present, generally speaking, only that method can be employed which obtains in Missions or Reductions, where Indians of all ages have been collected, and are being collected in order to tame them and adapt them to Christian ways. At the same time, however, they keep up their relations, and dealings, and intercourse with the pagans.[9] This custom

[8] This was not generally true, for the soldiers from the beginning proved themselves a great drawback to the progress of the Missions. However, the most grievous troubles for the neophytes arose after 1826, when greed cast covetous eyes on Mission property.

[9] The Fathers tolerated the custom in order not to frighten away pagan aspirants.

it is that retards and must retard their progress until the time when all pagans still outside the fold may be gathered into the Christian Mission family.

9. The virtues which permit themselves to be known in these poor people are patience and submission in hardships, and very particularly in illness. They likewise show themselves docile, obedient, and humble. With regard to this, however, it may be said that they also yield, owing to their cowardice and timidity. A charitable hospitality is observed among them; for not only the neophytes, but even the pagans of whatever class, receive any one and give him to eat from their own poor meals with agreeable generosity. These virtues are common to both sexes without notable difference.

10. The poor heathens raised in the darkness of the superstitions and vain observations of paganism, still preserve a little of their ritual, especially so the old men. The fisher must not eat of the fish he caught, nor the hunter of the deer, rabbit, hare, and other animals he secured, otherwise he should not catch or kill any more. In order to win a game of skill, it is necessary to fast for some days; and if then they lose, they are convinced that their competitor fasted somewhat more than they. The husband must not touch his wife until the child is able to keep on its feet alone, otherwise he should not have another. When the wife has given birth, the husband must not eat meat for some time lest the child die. Of this character are found among them other vain observances peculiar to the pagans and recent converts. The method to eradicate them so that they forget them is no other than instruction, time, and apostolic patience, which overcomes and succeeds in everything.

11. There are catechisms of the Christian doctrine in the language of the neophytes, and they are used alternately with the catechism in the Castilian language. They have not the approbation of any bishop;[10] for it would not only be difficult, but next to impossible, to revise them in so many and in such strange, barbarous, and unknown dialects as are found in this country, and of which there is no grammar nor dictionary to aid in the work. It costs even the immediate superiors here indescribable labor and patience to understand them, and then only with the help of the most experienced missionaries, or by their assistance and knowledge with the aid of interpreters whom they have well trained.

12. No inclination to idolatry is observed in our neophytes; nor can it be said that in their savage days there was any formal idolatry among them. In the vicinity of their rancherías, and in some spots in the moun-

[10] These Indian catechisms contained only the most essential doctrines and practices. They were not printed, and were intended only for private use.

tains, they had certain places which were well cleaned, swept, and adorned with beautiful plumages fastened to poles. These sites in time came to be regarded as their sacred places. They would come together here in their necessities and pilgrimages. Then one, in the name of the rest who would observe profound silence, petitioned for rain, an abundance of acorns, seeds, and wild fruits, which are their daily sustenance, that they might catch many fish and kill many deer; that they might not be caught by any bear, nor bitten by any rattlesnake; and that they might enjoy health, and similar things. At the end of the supplication, they would employ the simple and plain mark of respect of offering beads, acorns, and various other seeds, in order that the Invisible One might look upon them and be propitious to them. This Invisible One, however, they pictured to themselves, in keeping with their crude ideas, as the author and giver of rain, seeds, fruits, and all the rest of things. The petition in the beginning, a salutation preceding it, was always uniformly the same, and in our language equivalent to "Grand Chief, or the Chief of all Chiefs, behold us, listen to what we say."

Some of the old men, pretending to be doctors, graduated in the school of their own ignorance, simplicity and rudeness, would relate a long series of fabulous stories, full of ridiculousness and extravagance, regarding the creation of the world and its government. The boys and young people took much delight in them, and they would even pay some old fellow to recite the stories. Many times neophytes with good sense, who possessed true Christian sentiments, assured me that they knew the futility of such stories. So whenever they saw boys in such circles, one or more would warn them, and remind them that there is truly and of a certainty One who made everything and gave them everything. It may be stated that among these poor savages a good disposition was found concerning this matter, for they listened to us with pleasure and attention when we spoke of God, the Creator of heaven and earth and of all things.

13. Six of our Missions do not as yet count twenty years since their founding, but in almost all the rest the Gospel net is gathering fresh converts from paganism. The son counts eighteen years as a Christian, but the father is an obstinate savage still, enamored of his brutal liberty and perpetual idleness. The granddaughter is a Christian, but the grandmother is a pagan. Two brothers may be Christian, but the sister stays in the mountains. A neophyte twenty years a Christian marries a woman but recently baptized. Such is the situation. To meet the question, however, we missionaries of many years' experience can affirm, not on the authority of any historian, but as eyewitnesses,

that of our spiritual children before they were baptized the men went entirely naked but the women with less indecency. Now all, without distinction of sex or age, go decently dressed; that they formerly lived without ruler or law, whilst now they are subject to God, to His Precepts and to those of the Church, and they recognize Him as the Sovereign in the officials and in the missionaries who represent Him; that formerly they subsisted on acorns, seeds, grasses, roots, and such fruits as the soil of itself brought forth; now they maintain themselves by means of wheat, corn, peas, and other grains and vegetables, with meat in abundance, because the cattle have increased prodigiously; and that formerly, with the exception of the fishing season for those on the coast, and the period of hunting deer, hares, squirrels, and other animals for those in the mountains, they lived in perpetual idleness, roving about, dancing, and gambling. Now they pray morning and evening, and they work at their task and the duties of the Mission assigned to them. Nor is it a small matter that, whereas in heathenism they lived in continual war, at the echo of the Gospel trumpet and the sound of the Gospel of peace they broke their bows, made pieces of their weapons, and the God of Peace is known and praised among the Gentiles.

14. When our neophyte young men intend to marry, they offer some beads, an otter skin, a blanket, or some similar article to the bride or to her parents, but they extend to them no other mark of devotion. When afterwards they present themselves to the Missionary Father, and the examination prescribed by the Sacred Council of Trent discloses no impediment, he joins them in holy matrimony and blesses the marriage according to the Roman Ritual. In their savage state they are also accustomed to make a little present to the bride or to her parents, though not always. Some of them, owing to their good disposition and natural affection, would persevere in their matrimonial contract; but, generally speaking, it is almost incredible with what facility they take and divorce their wives. Women likewise not unseldom divorce their men. Neither party cares for nor understands the indissoluble bond. Such is their dulness and ignorance in this particular.

15. We Missionary Fathers, so far as possible, take care that in the Missions the most common medicaments are not lacking, as well for our own needs as for the necessities of our neophytes, to whom for their ills and external infirmities we apply various remedies. For the common and knowable maladies we apply one or the other that may benefit without being harmful. These poor people do not understand curative methods. When they feel sick, therefore, they lie down at full length near their much beloved fire until they are almost roasted. Their quacks administer herbs, roots, and bark of trees, but blindly

without the proper knowledge of their curative power, and without giving any reason for using them. His father or some old man, the quack will say, told him that such an herb or root is good, and that suffices to cover the secret and gain more beads. They will contend that some are cured with such or such an herb, but it amounts to little that they believe so, as they do not consider that the greater portion of their infirmities is not serious, and that nature itself provides a corrective and cure. They have their equivalent to blood-letting in cutting themselves with a sharp stone and sucking the blood. This crude operation, because of the irritation which it occasions, fails not to have a good effect in some, especially when it is applied to tender parts. In order to purge themselves, they use various herbs; and for vomiting they drink an abundance of water mixed with salt, or sea-water. They make use of the thermal waters for pain in the bones, for the itch, and for similar ailments. Their most dominant diseases are the *galico*,[11] consumption, and dysentery, which usually attack them with somewhat more force in the spring and in the fall. The number of births does not correspond to the number of deaths, for in many years for each two that are born three die.

16. They know and distinguish the time of spring by the fresh growth in the country, and by the sprouting of various plants. When the seeds begin to ripen they know it is summer. The harvesting of the acorns, their principal sustenance in paganism, shows them that fall has arrived. The rains and the cold make them understand very well that winter has set in. Their dulness and ignorance knew nothing of calendars; and although their language has proper names for morning, noon, evening, and night, the pagans were wont to live according to their fancy, and did not understand what it had to do with their meals, activities, or rest. The neophytes, on the other hand, govern themselves in all this by the bell of the Mission.

17. The Indians take only one single meal, for even when at work they will be eating, and at any hour of the night, when they awaken or when they are roused, they take to eating with pleasure. In the Mission, at sunrise, they have morning prayer while Holy Mass is celebrated. After sunrise, they are given a ration of *atole*,[12] and the same is prepared for supper after the recital of the *Doctrina Christiana* in the evening. At noon the meal consists of a *pozole* of ground corn, wheat, peas, and other vegetables. Every week they receive their share of

[11] Venereal disease introduced by the soldiers and early settlers. It was this malady, incurable with Indians, as Fr. Abella wrote to Governor Solá, January 29, 1817, that was killing off the race in California.

[12] A gruel made of corn or barley of which the Indians were very fond.

fresh beef in ample abundance, according to the means of the Mission. At this Mission (San Buenaventura) every week there are slaughtered sixty, fifty, or at least forty-five cattle. In the season when the cattle are very fat, the slaughter of sixty cattle takes place twice a week, in order to increase and sell the tallow so that necessary goods may be procured. Large portions of the meat are taken in carts to the field and burnt because there is no one to take it away, the neophytes in their houses having plenty of fresh and dried meat. In addition, in their homes they have quantities of acorns, *chia* and other seeds, fruits, eatable plants, and other wild nutritious plants, which they do not forget, and of which they are very fond. They also eat fish, mussels, ducks, wild geese, cranes, quail, hares, squirrels, rats, and other animals which exist in abundance. Owing to the variety of eatables which they keep in their homes, and being children who eat at all hours, it is not easy to compute the amount they daily consume.

18. They have not known fermented drinks; they only used a compound of wild tobacco, lime, and water, which they assure us comforts them very much; but when they take it to excess, it makes them drunk, and does them considerable harm.

19. Our heathen Indians have not adored either the sun or the moon.

20. On account of the continual wars which they carried on with their neighbors, and their supreme simplicity, they contented themselves with the knowledge of bows and arrows to defend themselves against their enemies, and for killing deer and other animals. They were also satisfied with the net for catching fish, and with their other primitive ways for obtaining food. The consequence was that their erudition and science dealt only with the stomach, dancing, and gambling, like children, without in the least caring whether there were any more people in the world than in the rancherías which they knew. The same may be said to have been the characteristics of their forefathers. Ignorance, stupidity, rusticity, and a supreme indifference for such subjects are doubtless their inheritance from a very early date.

21. The neophytes are buried according to the regulations of the Roman Ritual. In paganism some had the custom of burying the dead, others would burn them on a great pyre, accompanying the ceremonies with great lamentations whilst the relatives and friends would be stirring up the fire as much as they could until the body was consumed. At the burials they would inter, with the corpse beads, a cape made of otter or rabbit skins, or some other article that belonged to the deceased. With some Indians, on the grave they would plant a pole from which dangled an oar, net, bow, head of a deer, or some other

mark of the occupation in which he excelled. They would also manifest their grief by cutting their hair, covering themselves with ashes, scratching their faces, blackening the face, and continuing to wail and cry for many days.

22. They are tolerably faithful in complying with their few and simple bargains, although in the case of their relatives and intimate friends their words must be taken in a wide sense, for they know how to leave it to oblivion, and then they comply with their promises tardily or never.

23. One who knows wrote that in the Indians the inclination, constancy, and tenacity for lying is remarkable; but our neophytes have no erroneous notions on that subject. They know it is wicked; and even in their heathen condition they knew this and despised lying.

24. Idleness is their most dominant vice, and this is followed, like companions, by incontinence and the propensity to steal. The feminine sex is somewhat industrious; but both classes are neophytes who are but now commencing to hear the names of virtues and religion, and we labor to instruct them in the maxims of religion with happy results. However, there are not lacking the headstrong and the stiff-necked.

25. The money current among these poor creatures are beads,[13] which they readily loan to one another without profit, and without any other compact than that it be returned in kind. They observed this practice almost generally in their savage state.

26. We are in active Reductions or Missions where the neophytes live in community, and where the Missionary Father cares for the agriculture and everything, otherwise the Indians would run to the mountains, for they are but children, habituated to live like little birds, that do not plough, nor sow, nor possess barns. Nevertheless, in order to have them grow fond of an industrious life, and without prejudice to the support of the community, the neophytes may have private gardens in which the more diligent raise for themselves pumpkins, watermelons, sugar melons, corn, and other grain. The missionaries encourage them in this, and help them to succeed. In the savage state the Indians knew nothing about agriculture, but adhered to the acorns, wild seeds and wild fruits, and to their beloved idleness.

27. It may be safely asserted that these people in general are peaceful rather than inclined to anger. Much less can the odious adjective cruel be applied to them; for, although they frequently waged war, and at times were somewhat harsh on their enemies, they were driven to it through the necessity of defending their wives, their right to the territory

[13] *Abalorios*, made of mussel-shells, perforated and arranged on a string. The value depended on the length of the string.

where they harvested the acorns and seeds, upon which they depended for their subsistence; or also because the enemy had mentioned any one of their dead by the proper pagan name, which with them is regarded as the most grievous injury and crime. Public vengeance for the curbing and punishment of excesses committed by individuals, and for maintaining peace, was not known among the pagan Indians. The consequence of this was that any one, who considered himself injured, would himself take satisfaction and revenge. Sometimes he would enlist relatives in his cause. In some cases it was made a common cause. The chief and the whole ranchería, with other friendly and allied rancherías, would then plan revenge. In the Missions no neophyte punishes another by his own authority. The Missionary Father attends to the correction and suitable chastisement, and he applies the punishment like a natural father on his sons. The criminal cases are punished by royal justice.

28. The pagans in these parts have never recognized the wicked cruelty of sacrificing human victims to false gods. Now, after this hemisphere has been illumined by the gentle light of the holy Gospel, they have no such detestable inclination.

29. This article has been already answered in Nos. 12, 21, and 28.

30. As has been said, in these Reductions or Missions the neophytes live in community, and all, so far as possible, are succored in health and sickness. The product of the labor of those in good health is also employed for the maintenance of the old people, the children, the blind, and the many others who are incapacitated. No one may call himself rich, but all may claim to be well provided, because they possess what is necessary for corporal subsistence through the moderate labor to which those who are well and capable apply themselves. The people of the other caste in the four garrisons maintain themselves by the salary received from the King our Lord. In the towns and ranchos[14] there are no rich whatever. Nevertheless, some appear to be well situated, and they are those only who distinguish themselves by their good conduct, industrious character, and application in cultivating vineyards, fields of grain, and the sale of their produce.

31. There are in these Reductions or Missions no other distinctions of persons than the two alcaldes and two regidores, who are elected annually. Under the supervision of the Missionary Father, they oversee the work. For their office they are distinguished somewhat by their dress, etc. In criminal matters they are subject to the commander of the nearest garrison or presidio and the corporal of the mission guard; but in economical affairs, and with regard to the government of the

[14] Word used in the west for *farms*.

Mission, they are subject to the Missionary Father, who directs them, and who sees that their election at the proper time is conducted with all the formalities of the law. In paganism every ranchería had one or more chiefs or *capitanos* whom they recognized in their battles with their enemies, and with regard to invitations for their pagan feasts. Then all contributed seeds and beads, which were divided among those invited. These functions excepted, the Indians were not accustomed to recognize any chiefs. Every one did what he pleased, and lived in the widest liberty and independence.

32. Here no one renders personal service to any one else. We missionaries serve them all in spiritual and temporal things, curing their wounds, assisting them in their illness, guiding their work, procuring what they must eat and with what they must clothe themselves, and we do everything else necessary for the maintenance of the Mission. The neophytes serve us in preparing the food, washing what little clothing we wear, as acolytes for the functions of the Church, in the administration of the Sacraments, in assisting at the distribution of the remedies for the sick, and in a thousand other little things which it would be impossible for us to accomplish without the hands and feet of the boys.

33. They are now very well inclined to sing and to play upon any kind of string or wind instruments. They possess a facility for learning the sonatas which they hear, or which they are taught. In the savage state they used only a small flute made of elder-wood, and in their grand feasts also a whistle of deer bone, which the "musicians" cause to shriek and trill, whilst at the same time they perform violent, strange, and ridiculous contortions of the body. Their songs are weird, and, as a rule, more fit to produce gloom than cheer. What in truth they would manifest particularly was an admirable keeping of time and an imperturbable sameness in those who were singing as well as in those who would be dancing.

34. We are in rather lively Reductions where have been, and are congregated, various savages who roved through the mountains, and who have not even had an idea of letters or characters. Their whole scientific knowledge consisted of more or less dexterity for killing deer, for fishing, for catching ducks, and other efforts for securing food and whiling away the time of life. They had some sort of knowledge of warfare; but almost always they would kill their adversaries, take vengeance on them in cold blood by coming upon them unawares, or when the enemies were in smaller numbers, and by employing cunning and malignant tricks, like cowardly men without bravery. No catalogue of illustrious men can be compiled of such people.

35. They had some kind of an idea of the immortality of the soul, but this idea was engulfed in a thousand puerilities suggested by their coarse habits. Also of rewards and punishments they had some notion, but it implied only temporal punishment during the course of life. After that, they were persuaded that the souls of the dead, all without exception, would be translated to a place, and well received, which they claimed is very distant, but delicious, where there would be many fishes, and where they would eat aplenty, rove about, gamble, dance, and divert themselves, which is about as much as these wretched people in their paganism craved. Of Final Judgment, of Heaven, Purgatory, and Hell they never thought. Now our neophytes have a perfect knowledge of these truths of our holy Faith; and even the pagan know something about them, because they hear of them from their Christian relatives, and much more from the missionaries.

36. The dress of the neophyte men consists of a shirt commonly called *coton*, the breechcloth which serves to cover them decently, in place of pantaloons,[15] and a blanket. The women wear the *coton*, petticoat, and blanket. All this clothing is made at the Mission.[16] They move about very decently clad, and they have a sufficient liking for it, especially the young people. The pagan Indians could see no use for clothing, with the exception of the women, who used some deer skins, or went about with an apronlike covering woven from fibres or grass.

Mission San Buenaventura, August 11, 1815.

Fr. José Señan.[17]

II.

AN EARLY JESUIT WORK ON THE WRITING AND JUDGING OF HISTORY

Historical writing in France during the seventeenth century is best known through the "Memoir" which never reached fuller maturity in any country or age. During this period also, the Jesuits, Oratorians, Benedictines, and above all, Bishop Bossuet, "the most skilful expositor and champion of the Catholic faith in modern times," contributed much to the development of historiography in France.

But works on historical art or method did not show the same progress. Many, indeed, wrote of the theory of history, but none dealt seriously with the deeper questions concerning its science or philosophy. La Mothe le Vayer (*Discours du peu de certitude en l'Histoire*, 1668)

[15] The neophytes disliked them, but in time they yielded.

[16] From the shearing of the sheep, spinning, weaving, to the last stitch.

[17] Santa Barbara Mission Archives.

endeavored to prove history the greatest argument for scepticism. The Abbé de Saint-Reál (*De l'usage de l'Histoire*, 1671) found history valuable only in so far as it enables us to study man and to know him through his vanity. Father Rapin (*Instructions sur l'Histoire*, 1677), by adopting what was of value in the earlier studies of the subject and adding to it his own reflections, gave one of the best treatments of the rhetoric of history that had up to that time been attempted. Later, an Oratorian, Father Thomassin (*Méthode d'étudier et d'enseigner chrétienment et solidement les historiens profanes*) attempted to show from the history of man, up to the establishment of Christianity, that the ancient historians confirm the main truths of religion and the prevalence of the principles of morality.[1]

In the Library of Congress there is a small volume (narrow octodecimo), of 224 pages, the title-page of which reads: *Of the Art Both of Writing and Judging of History, with Reflections upon Ancient as well as Modern Histories. Shewing Through what Defects there are so few Good; and that it is Impossible there should be any so much as Tolerable. By the most Learned and Ingenuous Jesuit Father Le-Moyne.*[2] This work, printed in London in 1695, is a translation of the author's *De l'Histoire*[3] which first appeared in Paris in 1670. A brief summary of this book will show the character of these early works on historic method.

Father Le Moyne enjoyed more than ordinary reputation in his time as a poet but left nothing of historical nature.[4] In his later years, about 1665, he wrote a History of Cardinal Richelieu which was to form a part

[1] For a full discussion of historiography and historical reflection in France in the seventeenth century, see ROBERT FLINT, *History of the Philosophy of History* (Scribner's, 1894), volume on France, pp. 202–234.

[2] Pierre Le Moyne was born at Chaumont, March 5, 1602, of rich and influential parents. In 1619, at the age of seventeen, he entered the Jesuit novitiate of Nancy, and began the study of theology in 1626. In 1629 he is found at the college of Rheims, where he taught rhetoric and published anonymously his first poems. He next taught philosophy for two years at Dijon. In the meantime he was ordained. Later he taught in the college at Langres. In 1639 he was added to the faculty of Clermont College, Paris. That same year he took his final vows. He left Clermont in 1650 to reside at the Professed House of Paris, where he died, August 22, 1671. Father Le Moyne enjoyed a high reputation as a preacher, and he was the first French Jesuit to gain recognition in the writing of poetry. H. CHÉROT, S.J., *Étude sur la Vie et les Œuvres du P. Le Moyne* (Paris, 1887), pp. 1–30; HAMY, *Galerie Illustrée de la compagnie de Jésus* (Paris, 1893), v, p. 80; DE BACKER, *Bibliothèque des Écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus*, ii, 1393–1398.

[3] Sometimes confounded with Saint-Reál's *De l'usage de l'Histoire* (Paris, 1671). There is also a Spanish translation by P. Francisco Garcia, *Arte de historia escrito en lengua francesa por el Padre Pedro Moyne. . . .* (Madrid, 1676).

[4] For a complete list of Father Le Moyne's writings, see CHÉROT, *op. cit.*, 503–547; DE BACKER, *op. cit.*, 1393–1398.

of a larger History of the Reign of Louis XIII. This began with the death of Henry IV, and was brought down to March, 1638, but it was never published. It was about this time that *De l'Histoire* was composed. The treatise is made up of nine "dissertations" with subchapters under each. Lest he be accused of presumption or infidelity to the muses in leaving Homer and Virgil to follow after Thucydides and Livy, the author attempts to show in the beginning that poetry and history are closely allied, "the descent is almost insensible by which you may pass from one to another." A man must be a poet to be an historian; history is but a poem without constraint of numbers and measure. He would exclude from the title of historian "the makers of legends and chronicles, the remassers of journals and gazettes, and historiographers who are perpetual compilers." So, he concludes, if he have any poetic spirit, he could not better employ his time than in the composition of a history.

The difficulty of the undertaking is made apparent to him in the small number of those who have written history with success. Greece had but two or three, ancient Rome but four—Salust, Tacitus, Livy, and Quintus Curtius. He deplores the work of Luceus, who has so well arranged the facts and deeds of the consulate of Cicero, while Caesar's *Commentaries* contain excellent matter but "half wrought." Thus he continues his criticism of a long list of modern historians. His judgments concerning Grotius, the Italian Guicciardini, Davila, Bentivoglio, Maffeus, Strada, and Mariana of Spain, the last three Jesuit writers, while more favorable, find the method of all faulty. France, he maintains, up to that time could not boast of a single good historian. He ostracizes De Thou and De la Barda because they wrote in Latin rather than in the language of their country. The writers of memoirs, Beleagnangis, Montluc, the Duke de Nevers, Castelneau, Tavannes, and Sully, deserve not the name of historians: those of the Duke of Guise and the Duke of Rochefoucault are superior to the former. But Commines is sincere, judicious, and instructive, yet he "mounts no higher than an essay or rough draught of history."

Father Le Moyne next discusses the qualifications that an historian should possess. He considers Lucian too exacting in demanding that he have prudence begun by study and finished by serving as a minister of state, and that he be a military commander. This same obligation would lie upon the writer of heroic poems. Yet Homer could be no warrior, for he was blind. The first quality of an historian, it is here advanced, is that he be a man of wit, possessing an unbounded spirit that raises itself above crowns and all forms of politics. He should also have a clear judgment to distinguish the true from the false; he must be

equitable to do justice to all, and moderate, not to carry his thoughts and expressions beyond this matter.

The nature and art of history are next considered. The dispute concerning the etymology of the word is referred to, some deriving it from the Greek word meaning "to recount," others from another signifying "to stop the flood," because history "stops the flood of things and gives them consistence and durance." He divides history into divine, natural, and humane, the first inspired, the second containing works on nature, and the last treating of men's actions. Humane history is subdivided into true, fabulous, universal, particular, and singular. After examining and refuting the definition of history as given by Vossius, Le Moyne defines it as "a continued narration of things true, great, and public, writ with spirit, eloquence, and judgment, for instruction to particulars and princes, and the good of civil society." Its parts are narration, harangues, and digression, the first essential, the last accidental. Actions are the matter of narration, truth the end of judgment. When the latter fails it is because of ignorance, hatred, or flattery. To avoid these, the historian should not trust to fame or report, he should not draw his material from the writings of interested persons or enemies, but rather from the letters and instructions of those who have been participants in affairs or witnesses to them. Nothing should enter history but that which is great and illustrious; trifling things should have no place there. Nor should military actions be the principal matter of history, for it is the historian's part to teach the art of ruling and serving by explaining councils, exposing intrigues, unfolding reasons of state, and by disentangling the motives and pretexts of affairs. Whether private actions should be disclosed in history, whether the vices of the great should be published, and whether the truth should ever be partly suppressed by the historian, are other questions considered by the author.

The last five dissertations deal with the rhetoric of history—sentences and their kinds, the worth of description and rules governing it, harangues, digressions, the order of presentation, and, finally, the style to be used by the historian. In this day of striving after scientific perfection, when accuracy is the badge of scholarship, and footnotes the sign-posts to authority, there will be none to defend Father Le Moyne's strange theory that the historian must at times make his characters speak. His reasoning is curious: "A trader that is dumb, a counsellor silent, an ambassador without words, would make but strange figures . . . Are ambassadors accused of falsehood, that express themselves more elegantly than their instructions: and the letters of a secretary of state, do they cease to be true, and the Prince's, because they are more enlarged, and in better terms, than in the original?"

This brief summary will doubtless force the judgment that Father Le Moyne's treatise is a feeble, amateurish production. It is, if appraised according to present-day standards. But it must be remembered that when he wrote, history was not subjected to the scientific process of today. Le Moyne and his contemporaries turned to history not so much in order to expound the conditions and processes on which the formation of historical science depends as to find in it a pleasant art, entertainment, and materials for writing and speaking on moral and political life. These early, crude publications on the art of writing, reading, and judging of history were not only evidences of a growing interest in the study of history, but also they were the beginnings of an effort to ascertain the methods by which historical truth could be attained and historical science constituted. Like all beginnings they are more or less chaotic and nebulous when viewed from the heights of subsequent development, but at the same time they possess real interest and, like other pioneer movements, they deserve charitable attention.[5]

[5] The English translation of Le Moyne's work is presented to the reader with the extravagant statement that "there is nothing of our English growth to be compared to it . . . nor can France itself, or those more southern nations . . . boast of any production of this kind that approacheth, much less equaleth it." P. C. F. DAUNOU, *Cours d'études historiques* (Paris, 1844), vii, pp. 97–106, says of it: "I cannot adopt all the maxims and precepts contained in this treatise; but I believe that after that of Lucian, it is the best we have yet seen, and I greatly doubt whether any of those whose acquaintance we have still to make has risen to the same height of philosophy and originality." On the other hand, FLINT (*op. cit.*, p. 207) terms it "a rhetorical and affected composition, without any solid merits. The judgments pronounced by it on historians like Thucydides and Sallust are unwarrantable and presumptuous. One of the seven [nine] dissertations of which it consists is a defence of the introduction of feigned speeches into history, but it is entirely destitute even of ingenuity in error." LENGLET DU FRESNOY, *Méthode pour étudier l'Histoire* (Paris, 1735, iii, p. 3), says that the work "although but little read, has certain curious and singular marks. It does not lack judgment, but it abounds in lively expressions, which show a strong imagination, and that of Fr. Le Moyne is sometimes very glowing." Finally, there is the opinion of Chérot, himself a Jesuit, who, in his *Étude sur la Vie et les Œuvres du P. Le Moyne* (pp. 406 *et seq.*), has given an extended and sounder estimate of the treatise. From Le Moyne's book he quotes: "It was said by a great Cardinal, rich in expression, that it belonged not to barbers to play upon the lute, beggars to eat melons, nor pedants to read Virgil. It may be added, nor those that want the quill of an eagle to write history." "The quill of the eagle," concludes Chérot, "with which he wrote, was burned when he composed his treatise *de l'Histoire*."

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DOCUMENTS

AN HISTORICAL, POLITICAL, AND NATURAL DESCRIPTION OF CALIFORNIA[1]

By Don Pedro Fages

(*Translated by Herbert I. Priestley, Ph.D., University of California, Berkeley, Cal.*)

PART II

Introduction

The document herewith translated into English is one of the earliest descriptions of California extant. It comes from the pen of one of the participants in the first expedition of the Spaniards to Monterey in 1769, and possesses the value of having been composed just at the close of the author's first period of activity in California; it is thus free from the burdensome detail of an actual diary, and is not characterized by the vagueness and unreliability common to reminiscences. As Fages indicates in his title, the work was written as a continuation to the two previously printed works on the Gálvez expedition which he mentions by name. The first of these was the *Estracto de noticias del puerto de Monterrey*, which was published at Mexico over the date August 16, 1770. Of this, a second edition bearing the same date and place was also issued. Both editions are in the Bancroft Library, University of California. The *Estracto de noticias* was reprinted in Father Francisco Palóu's *Relación histórica de la vida . . . del Venerable Padre Fray Junípero Serra*, Mexico, 1787, pp. 108–12, and again in the same author's *Noticias de la Nueva California*, Mexico, 1857 (*Documentos para la historia de Mexico*, series 4, Vols. 6 and 7), and San Francisco, 1874, 4 volumes, as a publication of the California Historical Society. A translation was published in *The Land of Sunshine*, Los Angeles, Vol. 15 (July, 1901), pp. 47–9. Another translation, accompanied by a reprint of the first Mexican edition, was issued by the Academy of Pacific Coast History as Vol. 1, No. 2, of its *Publications*, Berkeley, 1909.

The second and complete account of the expedition, which was promised in the concluding paragraph of the *Estracto*, was written by the engineer Miguel Costansó; it appeared under the title: *Diario histórico de los viages de mar, y tierra hechos al norte de la California*, and was dated October 24, 1770. It is to be inferred that it was printed immediately thereafter. Certainly it was printed earlier than November 20, 1775, for on that date Fages, concluding his *Continuación y suplemento*, said that the *Diario histórico* had already been printed. The British Museum Catalogue gives 1770 as the date of publication. A manuscript copy of the *Diario histórico* was used by William Reveley for his English translation published by Alexander Dalrymple as *An historical journal*

[1] *Continuación y suplemento á los dos impresos que de orden de este Superior Govierno han corrido: el uno con el titulo de* Extracto de noticias del Puerto de Monterrey, *su fecha* 16 *de Agosto de* 1770; *y el otro titulado* Diario histórico de los viajes de mar y tierra hechos al norte de California *su fecha* 24 *Octubre del mismo ano. Hase y presenta esta relacion por superior mandato de su Excelencia el Señor Virrey actual de estos reynos, Don Antonio María Bucareli y Ursúa, el capitan de infantería de la Compañía Franca de Voluntarios de Cataluña, y comandante militar que ha sido de los nuevos establecimientos en aquellas provincias, Don Pedro Fages. Mexico, November* 20, 1775.

of the expeditions, by sea and land, to the north of California; in 1768, 1769 and 1770: when Spanish establishments were first made at San-Diego and Monte-Rey, London, 1790. A modern translation into English was published in *The Land of Sunshine*, Vol. 14 (1901), pp. 485–96, and Vol. 15 (1901), pp. 38–47. The Spanish text with English translation was issued by the Academy of Pacific Coast History as Vol. 2, No. 4, of its *Publications*, 1910.

In addition to the two printed works, Fages used in his writing the diary of Miguel Costansó and his own letter to the viceroy, Bucareli, written at Monterey, November 24, 1773. To these written sources he added from his own experiences and observations the more interesting and valuable parts of the document.

The *Continuación y suplemento* apparently was never printed in the original Spanish. A copy of the manuscript came into the possession of M. Ternaux-Compans, and was used to make a translation into French which appeared in *Nouvelles annales des voyages et des sciences géographiques*, Vol. 101 (1844), pp. 145–82, 311–47.

The original signed manuscript is in the Mexican archives, Museo Nacional, *Documentos relativos á las misiones de Californias*, small folio series, Vol. 4. A signed contemporary copy dated November 30, 1775 (ten days later than the foregoing), is in the Spanish archives at Seville, *Estante* 104, *cajón* 6, *legajo* 17. Transcripts from both archives are in the Bancroft Library. The translation herewith presented was made from the transcript from the Mexican archives, which has been compared with the copy from Spain, as well as with a contemporary unsigned copy in the possession of Mr. H. R. Wagner, of Berkeley, California. The textual differences in these various forms of the document are those characteristic of most handwritten archive materials, and have not been noticed in the translation, save for the addition of a vocabulary from San Luis Obispo, which was added from the Seville manuscript.

The document is recognized as of the first importance to California ethnology. The French version was used by Bancroft to a limited extent in his *Native Races* and in his *History of California*. More recently an English version in manuscript by Miss M. H. Van Gulpen was used by J. Alden Mason in "The Ethnology of the Salinan Indians" (University of California *Publications in American archaeology and ethnology*, Vol. 10, No. 4, 1912). The document has not until now, however, been made available in English to the public in general or to ethnologists and historians interested in the field surveyed by Fages, hence this new and independent translation is presented.

A word should be said for the author of the *Continuación*. Pedro Fages has a large place in the history of Spanish California. He was a young Catalan, and a lieutenant of Catalonian Volunteers, when he first appeared in Californian annals. He rendered service in New Spain in 1768 as a member of the expedition to Sonora under Colonel Domingo Elizondo against the revolted natives. He was sent to lower California in 1769 to participate in the Gálvez expedition for the occupation of Monterey. He was in command of the military force aboard the *San Carlos*, on which he reached San Diego, May 1, 1769. On land he was second in command to Gaspar de Portolá, whom he accompanied to

Monterey on the two expeditions of 1769-70. Upon the departure of Portolá from California on July 9, Fages was left as *comandante* of the "New Establishments," in which office he continued until May 25, 1774. He was promoted to a captaincy May 4, 1771, and to a lieutenant colonelcy at some time between 1777 and 1781.

His goings and comings within California gave him the experiences which make his untutored observations on California ethnology of such intense interest. In addition to his journeys with Portolá, he made an expedition from Monterey to the vicinity of Alameda in November, 1770. In March and April of 1772 he again visited the bay region with Father Crespi, going as far as the mouth of the San Joaquin River. In May of the same year he spent several weeks in the San Luis Obispo region hunting bears to supply the Monterey establishments with meat. In August he went to San Diego, where he came into conflict with Father Serra over the advisability of establishing new missions without added soldiers to serve as guards. Serra went to Mexico and obtained the removal of Fages on May 25, 1774, but subsequently expressed regret at his removal and appreciation for his services. It was while Fages was in Mexico City, after his recall, that he wrote the *Continuación*.

Subsequently, he served at Guadalajara, and in Indian fighting on the Sonora frontier. In 1781–82 he led an expedition to the Colorado River to punish the Yuma Indians for their destruction of the new mission-colonies there. About this time he made one or more visits to southern California. He was in the Colorado region when on September 10, 1782, he received his appointment as governor of the Californias, in which capacity he served until April 16, 1791. Never again, after his later interesting wanderings, did he find time to write so informative a report as that of 1775. The date of his death is supposed to have been in 1796. He had outlived most of the generation of notables who effected the occupation of California.

The first part of this Document was published in the January, 1919, issue of the *Review*.

Observations on Political and Natural History

At the mission of San Luis Obispo and for a radius of about twelve leagues around it, I have observed the following: The natives are well-appearing, of good disposition, affable, liberal, and friendly toward the Spaniard. As to their government, it is by captaincies over villages, as in the others; the captains here also have many wives, with the right of putting them away and taking maidens only; here also the other Indian men have not this privilege, for they have only one wife, and do not marry a second time, until they are widowed. They have cemeteries set apart for the burial of their dead. The god whom they adore, and to whom they offer their seeds, fruits, and all that they possess, is the sun. They are addicted to the unspeakable vice of sinning against nature, and maintain in every village their *joyas*, for common use.

Their houses, shaped like half-globes, are neatly built; each one is capable of sheltering four or five families which, being kin, are accustomed to live together. The houses have one door on the east, and one on the west, with a sky-light in the roof, halfway between. Their beds are built up high on bedsteads, which are here

called *tapextles*, of heavy sticks; a reed mat serves as a mattress, and four others as curtains, forming a bedroom. Beneath the bedsteads are the beds of the little Indians, commodiously arranged. The men do not often sleep in their houses at night; but, carrying with them their arms, bow, and quiver, they are accustomed to congregate in numbers in great subterranean caves, where they pass the nights in sheer terror; [if they stayed at home] they might be surprised in their beds by the enemy whilst defenseless on account of the presence of their wives and children. They also congregate thus in order to keep watch, spy upon, set traps for and surprise those who may be taken off their guard, for they are a war-like people, always roaming from village to village at odds with every one.

Their dress and clothing are like that of the Indians of San Gabriel, except that here one sees the hair oftener worn flowing, and of fine texture. The women wear toupés made by burning, and their coiffure is of shells, as I said in a previous chapter. On their cloaks or skirts, stained a handsome red, they put as a trimming or decoration various fabrications made from tips of shells and small snail-shells, leaving numerous pendants hanging from the margins, after the style of the trinkets of our children. For an adornment and as a protection from the sun, they cover their heads with little woven trays or baskets decorated with handsome patterns, and shaped like the crown of a hat. Both men and women like to go painted with various colors, the former especially when they go on a campaign, and the latter when they are having a festal occasion, to give a dance.

When an Indian woman is in childbirth, she makes a small hole wherever she may be when her labor begins, even though it be in the open field; she digs out the soil, puts in a little hay or grass neatly arranged, warms the hole with fire, of which she always carries a supply ready, and composes herself quite tranquilly to give birth. She removes from her child the envelope and adhesions bestowed by nature, strokes it, and deforms the cartilaginous part of the nose by flattening; then she goes without delay to bathe herself with cold water, whereupon the entire operation is completed without further ceremony. The child is then swaddled from the feet to the shoulders with a band to shape its body; thus enveloped, it is fastened against a coffin-shaped board, which the Indian woman carries suspended from her shoulders by cords; she takes the child in her arms without removing it from the frame every time she needs to give it milk, or to soothe it if it cries. Thus the Indian women are left unencumbered for all their duties and occupations, without on account of them having to leave off caring for and nursing their children, a very natural course of procedure.

It is not to be denied that this land exceeds all the preceding territory in fertility and abundance of things necessary for sustenance. All the seeds and fruits which these natives use, and which have been previously mentioned, grow here and in the vicinity in native profusion. There is a great deal of century plant of the species which the Mexicans call *mescali*. The mode of using it is as follows: They make a hole in the ground, fill it in compactly with large firewood which they set on fire, and then throw on top a number of stones until the entire fire is covered, but not smothered. When the stones are red hot, they place among them the bud of the plant; this they protect with grass or moistened hay, throwing on top a large quantity of earth, leaving it so for the space of twenty-four hours. The next day they take out their century plant roasted, or *tlatemado* as they say. It is juicy, sweet, and of a certain vinous flavor; indeed, very good wine can be made from it.

They use the root of a kind of reed of which they have a great abundance; cleansing the earth from it, and crushing it in their mortars, they then spread it in the sun to dry; when it is dry they again moisten it, removing all the fibrous part until only the

flour is left. From this they make a gruel and a very sweet, nourishing flour. At the beginning of the rainy season, which, as in Spain, occurs in the months of November and December, they gather a quantity of cresses, celery, and amaranth. They also eat a kind of sweet flower similar to the wild rose although smaller, of which the bears are also very fond; it grows in swampy humid places in canyons. The cubs of this kind of bear, which the Indians hunt, stealing them from their mothers, are raised and fattened for eating when they are ready, as is done with pigs.

I will omit repetition of the land animals, birds, and amphibians, of which I have made mention in other chapters. Among reptiles and insects, here are seen the tarantula, the star-lizard, and a kind of small but extremely poisonous viper. Among the seafish there are many sea-bream, crabs, whitefish, *curbina*, sardines of three kinds, *cochinillo*, and tunny; in the streams and rivers there are trout, spine-backs, *machuros* (an Indian name), and turtles. The fishing-canoes are finely described in the public accounts published in October of the year 1770. The tridents they use are of bone; the barb is well shaped and well adapted to its use. The fish-hooks are made of pieces of shell fashioned with great skill and art. For catching sardines, they use large baskets, into which they throw the bait which these fish like, which is the ground-up leaves of cactus, so that they come in great numbers; the Indians then make their cast and catch great numbers of the sardines.

In their manufactures, these Indians, men and women alike, are more finished and artistic than those of the mission of San Gabriel. They know how to make very beautiful inlaid work of mother-of-pearl on the rims and sides of stone mortars, and various other utensils. The women weave nearly all their baskets, pitchers, trays, and jars for various uses, interweaving with the reeds or willows, or embroidering upon them long, flexible, fibrous roots, which keep their natural color, white, black, or red. They also do the same with shells and small stones of the same three colors for decorating their cloaks and embroidering the bands of their head-gear. The tools of these skilful artisans are only two, the most simple ones in the world, the knife and the punch. This latter, used by the women, is a piece of bone as sharp as an awl, from the fore leg, next to the shin-bone, of the deer. The other is more particularly a tool for the men. They usually carry it across the head, fastened to the hair. It is a flint cut tongue-shaped, with very sharp edges; they affix it to a very small handle of straight polished wood inlaid with mother-of-pearl. These knives are made, as is perhaps natural, by rubbing and rubbing away the stone (or natural glass) in contact with harder ones, with water and fine sand. With these knives they supply their lack of iron and steel by dint of much labor and industry.

For starting a fire, which can be communicated to, and made to inflame, other materials, they use the only means they have—since they lack steel as has been said or instruments for focusing the rays of the sun—namely, that of rubbing one stick forcibly against another.

These natives always carry their means of making fire in the shape of two small sticks attached to the net with which they are accustomed to gird themselves; one stick is like a spindle, and the other is oblong, or it might properly be called a parallelopiped; in it there is a hole in the middle, in which the end of the other stick may be rotated. When they want to make fire, they secure the square stick firmly on the ground between the feet, and the round one, stuck into the hole, they rotate rapidly between the hands. It begins to smoke instantly, and both sticks are burned a little.

Concluding the chapter, I will say that at a distance of two leagues from this mission there are as many as eight springs of a bitumen or thick black resin which they call *chapopote;* it is used chiefly by these natives for calking their small water-craft, and to pitch the vases and pitchers which the women make for holding water. This

black liquid springs from the ground and runs amid the water of the streams without commingling with it or giving it a bad flavor; I observed that, on the contrary, the water of such supplies was most excellent. The source or spring of this bitumen is four leagues farther up, in a canyon which runs east and west, in which it is seen collected in pools arising from different sources and running together with the water, like that of the springs farther down.

Article V

From the Sierra de Santa Lucia to the Real Blanco

This stage was composed of nine marches, which were estimated to cover in all nineteen leagues, as follows: First: One enters by a canyon which permits ingress into the range, following the stream first on one side and then on the other, as the ground permits. The canyon is very narrow, and contains running water, which in places cuts against the bases of the hills which confine it. At a distance of one league it is divided into two branches; one of them flows toward the east-northeast, and the other toward the north. From this point, which was our camping-place, there is seen, more to the northeast, a hill which is not so beetling as the walls of the canyon. Second: Ascending this hill, after having cleared the land and opened the road by hand, one continues along the crest of other hills which form the north fork. Descending thence by a long slope, we camped within a hollow where lived as many as sixty exceedingly docile and obsequious natives. The entire day's march was perhaps a matter of one league; the camping-place was named the Hoya de Santa Lucía.

Third: With great fatigue, overcoming difficulties at every step, ascending and descending very rough slopes and wading through streams, uncertain of our objective point, and hidden in an expanse of mountains which seemed to have no end in any direction, but examining even to the highest peaks, we stopped, after going two leagues, to camp in a very narrow canyon in which little pasture and less water were found. There were in the vicinity three bands of Indians—wanderers like those of the preceding group, without house or home. They were at this time engaged in harvesting pine-nuts, of which there is abundance throughout the entire range. The camp was called the Real de los Piñones.

Fourth: Thence going one league by a broken road, but somewhat less rough [than the preceding one] certain men being employed daily in exploring the land, and the pioneers in the necessary tasks, we pitched camp on the bank of a small river containing much running water, which in its pools or eddies had trout and some other fish. For this reason the river was named the Río de las Truchas.

Fifth: From this river we traversed a long range for a two days' march northward, and descended to a stream having considerable current which flows eastward and then turns northward to join the Río de las Truchas, as we were given to understand. All the land along this day's march, and especially from this canyon on, is wooded on both sides with white-oaks and live-oaks of great height and girth. We found on the margin of this stream a village of nomads who were very poor, but who showed themselves obsequious and friendly. Sixth: At a distance of little more than a league there is a canyon in stony land covered with many trees of the two kinds which we have just mentioned.

Seventh: Traveling through this canyon in a northeasterly direction, one sees that it continues growing narrower little by little, and that the stony white hills which enclose it come almost together at last, leaving, however, a passage not at

all difficult, whereby descent is afforded along an inconsiderable slope, to a river which the scouts thought might be the Carmelo. We camped on its bank on this day's journey, having made three leagues.

At the foot of the above-mentioned slope, we found a populous village of some two hundred nomads who lived in the open air without any shelter at all.

The margins of this river are wooded with willows, poplars, live-oaks, and other trees, and the whole plain that it waters is exceedingly luxuriant with foliage. The soil is of good quality, producing a variety of fragrant plants, among which abounded rosemary and sage; there are also many rose-bushes loaded with blossoms. The camp was called the Real del Chocolate.

Eighth: Now leaving the plain in order to continue over level unwooded ground near the hills which skirt the river on the north to where the cliffs turn toward the northwest, we took to the slope of those that lay to the right, proceeding over level ground without going very far from the river. Camp was pitched near some pools in a spot provided with pasture, which is not everywhere abundant here. Near us we had a beautiful poplar, from which this place took its name. The day's march was four leagues long.

Ninth: The best and most suitable road was by way of the valley of the river. It opened toward the northwest and gradually widened more and more as we followed the current drawing nearer to the coast. A day's march of four leagues was again made, the camp being pitched in the plain amid a clump of live-oaks. All the land at this place is whitish, wherefore the camp was called the Real Blanco.

State of the Missions

Within the territory comprised in these few marches, there is already the mission of San Antonio de los Robles, which was founded, in July of 1771, on the bank of a river which was named for the same saint. But, after a year and a half, finding that the water of the river was lacking, sinking into the sand, and leaving the stream entirely dry, the reverend fathers were obliged to move the mission half a league farther up, near a good stream named San Miguel. This stream lies in the midst of the Sierra de Santa Lucía, and is distant from the beach by half a day's journey in light marching order.

At the beginning of November of '73, I found that the reverend fathers had their little church and all the living quarters completed, of good *adobe*, and the roofs covered with slabs of mortar plastered with lime. There had been baptized, including young and old, one hundred and fifty-eight natives, of whom eight recently baptized had died; fifteen marriages had been contracted among the new Christians, and three cuirassiers had married Indian women of this class.

The guard of the presidio consists of seven men commanded by a corporal. The new Christians live together with the heathen in their village near the mission, housed in huts of poles and hay; others are being catechized and instructed in the mystery of our Holy Catholic Faith preparatory to baptism.

It is said that within a radius of seven leagues there must be twenty or more villages, without counting those in the direction of the presidio of Monterey, some of them right on the road. The land abounds in acorns and pine nuts, the mission being situated near a forest of white-oaks, live-oaks, and pine trees; the usual very savory and nourishing seeds are also harvested. Cotton-tails and squirrels are hunted, and in fact not so much want is suffered as in Monterey.

With the improvement of the place actual harvesting of corn has been realized, and it is expected that wheat will be gathered, as the arroyo contains, even in the driest season of the year, a large stream of water, which has been confined for taking

33931

out to irrigate with by a dam, made temporarily of loose stones, poles, and brushwood, until time and material are available to make it of lime and rocks. The water of the river may also be utilized for irrigation, as it does not dry out here just in front of the mission as it does below; it is also believed that not even the unirrigated wheat will fail to yield. There are places for cattle with suitable water supplies, and summer pastures in great abundance. The acorn provides lavishly for raising and fattening many hundred head of swine. Ordinary stone is found close at hand from which to obtain good building blocks, and there are also some lime quarries. Besides the pines, live-oaks, and white-oaks, there is here another kind of fine wood of the color of cedar.

Such was the actual state of the mission of San Antonio de los Robles two years ago, and I consider that it must today be very much improved, especially in regard to what is most important, the reduction of the natives and the spread of Christianity.

Natural and Political History

These Indians are well built, and the women are good looking, some of them being somewhat ruddy in color. They all have beautiful hair, are people of a good disposition, affable, and disposed to give all they have to the Spaniards. They govern themselves as will be told in the chapter on San Francisco. They are continually at war with their neighbors; for the purpose of going out on any of these expeditions, the men and women first gather to take counsel in the house of the captain in command, whence the soldiers set out for the engagement, bearing the proper orders. The affair is limited to setting fire to this or that village of the adversary, sacking it, and bringing away some of the women, either married or single.

It seemed to me worth while to notice the usages and customs which these natives observe in their marriages, and the reciprocal tokens which are given for the assurance of such a close alliance. The fact is that when a single man and a single woman are seen together at dawn savagely scratched, it is a sign that they have contracted matrimony during the night, and with this sole proof they are considered publicly and notoriously as man and wife by the entire village.

But there is still more to this: they never think of making legitimate use of the faculty permitted by marriage, without at the same time making use of the nails, repeating on such occasions the same cruel and barbarous expressions of love and conjugal affection. This will seem an incredible thing, perhaps without parallel so far as is known of other nations, however untaught and savage they may be. There is no doubt, however, that this happens, and I write it after exact verification of the fact.

The education of the boys consists in the man teaching them to manipulate the bow and arrow, and he makes them practice their lessons in the field, hunting squirrels, rabbits, rats, and other animals. The Indian woman takes the girls with her that they may learn how to gather seeds and become accustomed to carrying the baskets. In this group are usually included those who are called *joyas*, of whom we have made mention in other places.

Idolatry is greater and more insolent here than in the preceding localities, it being understood that this [part of the] narrative concerns a radius of twelve leagues around the mission of San Antonio. I say greater, on account of the variety and number of gods who are worshipped: they are the sun, the waters, acorns, and some kinds of seeds. Not content with this, they have raised to the dignity of gods certain old men of their villages in whom they make it manifest that they have placed the utmost confidence, for, while they offer them worship and various gifts, they pray to them for rain, for sunshine, good crops, etc.

The true God provides these poor people for their sustenance three kinds of acorns, as well as other fruit like a red plum or cherry, from the seed or pit of which, with its surrounding substance, they make good *tamales*. They call it *Yslay*, and they eat the little meat which the pit contains. There is also much *pil* and *tecsumá*, of which we shall speak farther on. There are madrones, and three kinds of *chia*, one of them [producing seeds] as large as lentils and the others smaller. There are many pine-nuts like those of Spain, and a kind of very small white seeds shaped like the eggs of lice; these seeds mixed with flour, make the tortillas smooth and agreeable to the taste, as though they had been kneaded with lard. Another yellow seed, like rice, abundant only when it rains a great deal, has a very sweet taste. The Indians prepare it as they do the others, roasting or toasting it to reduce it to flour, and make their soups and bread; but this rice cooked without other preparation is much like vermicelli, and smells a good deal. They have plenty of sugar and sugar-cakes (*melcocha*), concerning the preparation of which I will speak in following chapters.

The land animals here are like those in the former places—bears, deer, antelope, wild sheep, hare, conies, squirrels. Among the venomous animals are vipers, tarantulas, and scorpions of extraordinary size, but their sting is not proportionately powerful. Among the birds there are none lacking which have been mentioned in previous chapters, and besides them there are seen here quail, very blue ring-doves, turtle-doves, swallows, and calendar larks. In the fresh water there are large trout, and a kind of fish called *machuro*. Finally, the timber is the same as that mentioned above where the days' marches and the missions were discussed in the present chapter.

Article VI

From the Real Blanco to a Place without a Name in 36° 44′

First: Three and one-half leagues beyond the Real Blanco, going over country of the same character as that of the preceding march, although more abundant in pasture, we camped at a place near the river, which here flows more noisily and proudly. Many antelope were seen going by, and the place was named the Real de los Cazadores, for there were then round about it some Indians who were so absorbed and occupied in hunting game that they did not notice us until we were upon them, when, suddenly, they fled precipitately in spite of our efforts to convince them [that this was unnecessary].

Second: They [our explorers] went down-stream toward the northwest, another three and one half leagues, descending continuously and getting away from the hills that form the valley which, even at this place in sight of two low points which jut out from the hills, must be a matter of three leagues across. The land along this day's march is very slippery, and cut by crevices which cross in all directions. Even from this distance one hears the noise of the sea, although the beach is not visible.

Third: Thus we went another league down-stream in quest of the beach, and reached a place where we could get out to explore it, to ascertain whether the port of our destination did not exist here. Indeed, an examination and exploration of the beach was made, and, after comparing our observations with the information left in their charts by the ancient navigators of these seas, and after various conjectures and opinions were expressed, the resolution was taken to continue the march. For the latitude of this place was found to be only 36° 44′; whereas the parallel upon which Monterey is found according to Cabrera Bueno, ought to be exactly 37°. Hence, it being unlikely that an expert should make the remarkable error of a good quarter of a degree in determining the latitude, and the marks of the shore and coast not corresponding here to what is promised by the reports which served us as guides, it seemed that there was no other recourse left than to continue the journey. This was accordingly done without loss of time.

Missions

Before going on to describe the mission of Carmel, the last of all those which belong to this chapter, I ought to explain to your Excellency that although on the first expedition, in the year 1769, continuing the marches from here to the great bay of San Francisco and leaving the port of Monterey behind, we went thirty-six and one-half leagues still farther, a distance which had to be traversed as it were by feeling our way, nevertheless, after the second journey, when there was opportunity to be better informed, I went myself with four cuirassiers, very practical men, and I found that, to go to San Francisco from this place, at which the narrative of the diarist concludes, there is a short cut which, aside from being advantageous in that it traverses more passible ground, saves a matter of ten leagues of the distance.

I also found another shortcut for avoiding the painful and arduous Sierra de Santa Lucía while coming from San Diego to Monterey, which shortened the road more than twenty leagues, and this was the least of the advantages to be gained, the other being that of not needing to enter a range where there are narrow gorges and precipices to be met capable of frightening even the wild beasts and mountain animals which live there. I omit the descriptions of both shortcuts, since they are very well known and understood by the people who live in the New Settlements, and will become more and more so from day to day, so that it need never be feared that at any future time any expedition of Spaniards will find itself in the perplexity and uncertainty in which we found ourselves through lack of exact information. The notable zeal and activity of your Excellency, from whose sagacity cannot be hidden how useful to the service of God and the King would be the advancement of the already established and frequent traffic in those remote conquests, assure us of the continuation of your wise measures, and also that the information already obtained or later to be acquired which may be useful in future, shall not perish in obscurity, from which it would be more difficult to recover it whenever it might be needed. The information most particularly appreciated by the sovereign piety of our lords the Catholic Kings of Spain is that which treats of the important establishment of missions.

The mission of San Carlos was, as originally established in June, 1770, founded near the Presidio de San Carlos de Monterey, until by order of his Excellency the Marquis de Croix, it was changed both in location and name, being transferred in the following year to a spot one league farther down, where it now stands, on the banks of the Carmel River.

The new church, the dwelling, and the offices within the stockade, were built of good cedar and cypress, with earthen roofs. But, it having been found that this kind of roof does not last, and that the rain leaks through, they were finishing by the end of November, 1773, another and a larger church. It was forty *varas* long and correspondingly wide, and was to be roofed with grass.

The reverend fathers had already baptized, counting great and small, one hundred and sixty-two natives; of these, eleven had died, and there had been twenty-six marriages. These twenty-six families, with the single persons and children, made a total of one hundred and fifty-one persons, who formed the camp contiguous to the stockade, where they had their small houses built after the manner of the country. Three volunteer soldiers of my company had married recently-baptized Indian women, and a servant had married another. The new Christians attend Mass and indoctrination regularly, and the natives of the neighboring villages are accustomed to frequent the mission in very orderly fashion. Only the residents of the village called *de los Zanjones*, six leagues distant toward San Diego, have been so bold as to

attack post-riders and travelers, but they have been punished, not without its having cost the lives of a few highway robbers, though they have not been able, thank God, to kill any of our men.

The hill Indians also of the Sierra de Santa Lucía, who live between this mission and that of San Antonio de los Robles, persecute indiscriminately the new Christians and the unconverted Indians of this region whenever they enter the range to search for acorns, which the hill Indians guard and desire to keep for themselves alone. These unhappy people encounter the same resistance when they go along the beach above Monterey on the same quest, so that they are prevented from going far from this district.

The situation was the same before the foundation of the Presidio de San Carlos, according to their confession, and they were continually at war. It is even to be supposed that it was worse then, and that much warfare has been eliminated by the New Settlement, for it is very natural that those who now oppose the removal of the acorns which grow in their country should have been themselves the aggressors in their turn, coming to provoke these Indians, which they would still be doing today were it not for fear that our arms would aid those who are now our friends and so live in confidence and understanding with us. The same thing will come in time to pass with all these natives of Monterey when they shall be reduced and submit their necks to the yoke of the holy law of God through baptism.

As to the temporal affairs of this mission, the reverend fathers have attempted to cultivate the soil in the best way possible, and the situation was improved when the mission was moved to where it now is, in the vicinity of the camp. The planting of corn turned out well, and the same is hoped of the wheat, although all that is sown will always be exposed to the usual risks of excess or lack of rain, or of being sown out of season, since there is no means of taking irrigating water out of the river because the water flows deep in it and confined within a narrow bed. But God will be pleased to supply the needs of these unhappy people, for if they have to depend upon the mission for sustenance and the protection of a few clothes, their conversion will be an accomplished thing. For they undergo great hardship especially in winter, lacking even the few fish which during the remainder of the year they obtain more through its abundance than by their own industry, since they have neither nets nor canoes in which to go fishing, although those who belong to this mission are only two musket shots distant from the beach.

Natural and Political History

The natives of Monterey should be considered as divided into two parts for the purpose of dealing with their natural and political history, because the Indians of the port and its environs are not the same as the more remote ones, as for instance the hill tribes of Santa Lucía and other more distant villages. I shall therefore speak separately, first of those of Monterey and the surrounding region, and afterward I shall treat of the others, within a district of twenty leagues, excepting of course the territory included in the chapter immediately preceding, wherein the Indians of San Antonio were described, and it was stated that an area of twelve leagues around it was included, which statement is here iterated.

So that on this side the circuit of the twenty leagues assigned is limited to the observations which I am going to make in my chapter wherein I treat of the Indians who are remote from the mission of Carmelo.

The Indians of this mission and its environs are well proportioned in body, but they do not have the best faculties of mind, and they are of feeble spirit. This apparently is attributable to their condition and the kind of life they lead, always

fearful and unable to retire or make excursions of more than four or five leagues from the port of the Punta de Pinos, lest they come into conflict with their opponents who resist and persecute them on all sides. They love the Spaniards very much, and recognize in them a shelter and protection of which they were in absolute need. Nearly all of them go naked, except a few who cover themselves with a small cloak of rabbit or hare skin, which does not fall below the waist. The women wear a short apron of red and white cords twisted and worked as closely as possible, which extends to the knee. Others use the green and dry *tule* interwoven, and complete their outfit with a deerskin half tanned or entirely untanned, to make wretched underskirts which scarcely serve to indicate the distinction of sex, or to cover their nakedness with sufficient modesty.

They are governed by independent captains, both those near the mission and those who are more remote within the territory mentioned. They are warlike, as are the Indians everywhere else, and they inter their dead where they fall, having no chosen spot for burial. When they desire a truce in any battle, or to show themselves peaceful upon any other occasion, they loosen the cords of their bows in order that their intention may be understood. If two of the natives quarrel with each other they stand body to body giving each other blows as best they can, using what might be called spatulas of bone, which they always carry for the purpose of scraping off their perspiration while in the bath and during the fatigue of their marches. But as soon as blood is drawn from either of the combatants, however little he may shed, the quarrel is forthwith stopped, and they become reconciled as friends, even when redress of the greatest injury is sought.

They do not have fixed places for their villages, but wander here and there wherever they can find provisions at hand. Their houses are badly constructed, consisting solely of a few boughs placed in a circular arrangement. Their marriages, as in San Antonio, are celebrated with the barbarous practice of scratching each other when they cohabitate, a foolish practice committed even by the newly converted and baptized, though the reverend fathers labor much with them in order to dissuade them from it. The dances and festivals are similar to those which have been explained in another chapter. They have a game which is frivolous enough but which has interest supplied by wagers; it is like this: An Indian takes any little thing and hides it in one hand; closing both hands, he holds them out to the other player, who must guess in which hand the object is. All this is accompanied by various postures and gestures, the players and spectators singing while the guessing is in progress. The gain or loss amounts to a quiver, a skin, a handful of seeds, or some such thing.

These Indians have a kind of bath although I do not know whether it deserves the name or not, which conforms in a way with the *temescales* which are found throughout the kingdom. They erect a hut of branches, stakes, and fagots, after the fashion of an oven, without any air passage whatever. The Indian gets into it, and others make a fire for him with small pieces of wood near the door, and the one who is inside receives a good scorching for an hour, during which he perspires copiously, scraping himself with the poniard or spatula mentioned above. This done, he comes out quickly, and goes to wash himself all over in cold water wherever he may first find it. They have a custom of repeating this alternation, the first bath being in the morning, the others being at midday and at night. The women do not use these baths.

I have already said that the seeds with which the Indians are accustomed to maintain themselves are here somewhat scarce. Those who are in this mission and nearby obtain few acorns, the lack of which they supply in part with blackberries and strawberries, which abound around the point of the Monte de Pinos; there are, many *boletes* or mushrooms, and another wild fruit about the size of an ordinary

pear which is eaten roasted and boiled, though it is somewhat bitter. The tree which bears it is rather whitish, like a fig tree, but not very tall. When it bears fruit it sheds its leaves entirely. The cones of the pine-tree are small, and the nuts are extremely so, but very good and pleasing to the taste. The method of gathering them is to build a fire at the foot of the pine-tree, which in a few hours falls to the ground, making the fruit available without difficulty.

As to land animals, there is nothing special which has not been spoken of in other chapters, not even among the poisonous ones. Among the birds is observed a very fleshy one with white head, neck, and feet, and black elsewhere; it is a bird of prey, and attacks the sea-fowls when they carry some little fish, for the purpose of depriving them of their prey. In the sea there are seen from time to time a few whales and seals, and there are many sardines of all sizes, especially in the months of June, July and August, when they are pursued by those great beasts. There are not lacking other fish of the species already mentioned.

Speaking now of the natives who are remote from the district: It is first to be noted that those of the Valle de San Francisco are the ones who have the most culture and are least savage. They have their hemispherical houses of about four yards diameter, and live very sociably, fixing their residences in large villages which, since they become infested with fleas in the spring time, they abandon for the purpose of passing this uncomfortable season in little brush houses which they construct at a short distance from their villages.

They are provided with many and various seeds for their sustenance; and they do not lack any kind of birds and land animals nor timber which have been mentioned in connection with other places. Here are seen some trees so large that eight men all holding hands could not span one of them. It is not known to what species they belong, but they have been called *sabinos* on account of their enormous, gigantic size.

The Indians who live in the direction of the Punta de Año Nuevo, eight leagues inland and about twelve leagues from this royal presidio, are of good features, their skin is not so dark, and they wear long moustaches. They are very clever at going out to fish embarked on rafts of reeds, and they succeed, during good weather, in getting their provisions from the sea, especially since the land also provides them with abundance of seeds and fruits which have been mentioned a little above, although the harvesting of them and their enjoyment is disputed with bow and arrow among these natives and their neighbors, who live almost constantly at war with each other.

All those remote from Monterey within the bounds of the twenty leagues which have been indicated, have for their god the sun, to whom they offered, with gesticulations and ceremonies, all that we gave them, and they are accustomed to make various demonstrations of joy every day before this planet rises, while yet the dawning of the morning is announcing his coming. They believe in the transmigration of souls, asserting that those of the dead go to live in a certain island in the sea, from whence they come to enter the bodies of those who are born. Their dead they inter in places like regular cemeteries, with the exception of those who die in war, for the latter are eaten by the relatives of the slayer.

Last Number

[VII]

Concerning the People of the Plain, and the Río Grande de San Francisco and Its Environs

It having seemed to me suitable to omit from this chapter the corresponding entries from the diary of the land journey, inasmuch as the road which leads from

Monterey to San Francisco is now different, and as there is no mission farther to the north than that of Carmelo, it now remains only to relate the historical narrative concerning these natives, in the recounting of which I will follow the plan of reducing the subject matter to certain headings in order to place my observations in good order, first setting down those which I have made concerning the immense bays and great river of San Francisco.

This natural feature, which has its origin in some snow-clad mountains lying to the north, coming later to unite with three or four very large streams, runs southeast for one hundred and twenty to one hundred and thirty leagues, when, making a basin with various windings, it takes a turn and runs about another one hundred leagues, to disembogue again on the north in a northern body of water which communicates with the bay of San Francisco, there being between the point of its disemboguement and the entrance to the said bay a distance of twelve to fourteen leagues. In this great bay there have been seen whales, and there are numerous islands in it, which are rocky and covered with trees.

Toward the sea there is another range, from the foot of which another estuary runs northeastward from the mouth of the river; it is so long that though I climbed the highest hill which I could, I was not able to see the end of it on a clear bright day. So it is not known whether it terminates inland or has finally another outlet to the sea, in which latter case the range spoken of would be an island. The river varies in width at different places; the greatest width which I have seen is perhaps half a league, and the smallest about a quarter of a league. And its depth is so great that, at twelve leagues from its mouth, where it is not confined within narrow limits, I was not able to measure the height of its bank with a pole more than ten yards long.

The plain of San Francisco extends from the mouth of the river to a village named Buenavista near the Portezuelo de Cortés, where there are many grapevines; it is about one hundred and sixty leagues long and from twenty to thirty leagues wide. In it there are numerous reed-patches and ponds, and it is very fertile. The natives, who live in spherical houses, are accustomed, in order to avoid the inconvenience attendant upon the rains when they are very heavy, to move to drier land during the wet season; when this has passed they return to their dwellings. The slope of the sierra which lies toward Monterey is rather bare of trees, but abounds in seeds, and there are numerous villages near its streams. The range where it extends inland from the other side of the river, is very high, and its peaks are always covered with snow. On its slopes there are many trees of great variety growing in good soil; there are wild buffaloes living in the depths of this forest.

The Costume of the Indians

The captains wear their cloaks adorned with feathers, and a great coiffure of false hair folded back upon their own. The common Indians wear a small cloak which reaches to the waist; in their hair they interweave cords or bands with beads, among the folds of which they bestow the trifles which they need to carry with them. The most common of these small articles is a small horn of the antelope containing tobacco for smoking, wrapped in leaves. They gather great harvests of this plant, and grind large quantities of it mixed with lime, from this paste forming cones or small loaves which they wrap in *tule* leaves and hang up in the house until quite dry. They assert that as a food it is very strengthening, and that they can sustain themselves on it for three days without other nourishment; they usually partake of it at supper.

The arrangement of their villages is like a chain, not continuous, however, but broken, and in front of their dwellings they erect storehouses or barns in which to keep their seeds, implements, etc.

They have stone mortars very like the *metates* of this kingdom, jars of the same material, and trays of all sizes made of wood or reeds artistically decorated with fibrous roots of grass which always keep their natural color, which is variable according to the species.

They sleep upon skins of animals, and cover themselves with other skins.

The figure and form of these Indians is graceful; both men and women are taller than ordinary. The men have the custom of smearing their heads in the form of a cross (the efficacy and mysteries of which are yet unknown to them) with white mud. The women observe in their dress the styles of San Luis Obispo, but with greater neatness and decency; they have also the fashion of wearing the hair in a toupé with a braid.

Their Government and Economics

Besides their chiefs of villages, they have in every district another one who commands four or five villages together, the village chiefs being his subordinates.

Each of them collects every day in his village the tributes which the Indians pay him in seeds, fruits, game and fish. If a robbery is committed, complaint is made to the captain, who holds a council of all the Indians to deliberate concerning the punishment and reparation due. If the theft was of some eatable or some utensil, as is usually the case, the entire punishment inflicted upon the robber is the return of the object stolen or its equivalent. But if the theft is that of a virgin, whom the robber has ravished, they must inevitably marry; the same practice is observed in the case of a simple rape which may occur without abduction. It is to be noted that here no one has more than one wife.

The subordinate captain is under obligation to give his commander notice of every item of news or occurrence, and to send him all offenders under proper restraint, that he may reprimand them and hold them responsible for their crimes. During such an act the culprit, whether man or woman, remains standing with disheveled hair hanging down over the face.

Everything that is collected as the daily contribution of the villages is turned over to the commanding captain of the district, who goes forth every week or two to visit his territory. The villages receive him ceremoniously, make gifts to him of the best and most valuable things they have, and they assign certain ones to be his followers and accompany him to the place where he resides.

They have two meals within the course of the natural day, one before dawn which lasts an hour more or less, and another in mid-afternoon which lasts for the space of four hours. When it is finished they set themselves to smoking tobacco, one after the other, from a great stone pipe. If there is to be a dance in celebration of a wedding or a feast, they dance until dawn, or, if they stop sooner, they set alert watchmen in the customary places, who give signals between themselves and for the entire village, by whistling or by strumming the cords of their bows, thereby giving notice that the enemy is approaching, that a house is burning, or that there is some other accident during the silence of the night.

Marriages and Games

The friends and relatives of those who have been married gather together from various villages, each one bringing his small gift for the new couple, and also his supply of food for the three or four days during which the festivities are to last, and other things ready to barter or exchange for what they need. They eat and dance and

sing joyously during the days of festivity, and, when these have passed, every one returns to his own house. The games they play on these and other occasions are of three different kinds, as follows:

One, which is participated in by women only, is like this: Many of them being seated in a circle, they take a large basket or reed tray beautifully decorated, into which they put a number of snail-shells filled with tar (*chapopote*). These are cast from the hand by the one who plays, who rubs them all so that they may fall with the mouth down, against the bottom of the tray, in order that they may roll. The game is decided by the number of shells which stop mouth up, whether they are fewer, an equal number, or more than those which stop mouth down. The turn passes to another when one loses. Thus the play goes round from hand to hand in turn, each one wagering some little article appropriate to woman's use.

The men, who like to divert themselves without fatigue, play another game no less sedentary and quiet than that of the women. They put a wooden tube, three spans long and one in width, on a very level, clean floor which they make smooth by covering it with fine sand. They then take ten sticks of the same length and shape, each one marked on one face only with a certain sign made with crossed lines. The player throws them toward the tube all at one time so that they may fall upon the floor. If they all fall with the mark outward, the player has won; if not, he is followed by another until the shot is made.

Finally, there are other games that they play which give good exercise, depending not at all upon chance, but contributing entirely to dexterity or industry. [They prepare] a quadrilateral space, very level and smooth, and ten yards long with a width sufficient so that two Indians may run in it side by side, the whole place being inclosed with a hedge of branches and grass a little over a span in height. Into [this enclosure] two players enter, one on each side, face to face, each of them carrying in his hand a stake four yards long, ending in a good point. One of the Indians throws up a little wheel made of strong straps fastened together so as to leave in the center a hole about the size of a *real* (the size of a dime); they both instantly hurl their stakes, measuring the shot so as to catch the wheel or thread it upon the stake before it falls to the ground. He who first does this, or who does it oftenest, overcomes his adversary, and wins the game.

Birds and Land Animals

There are large and small white geese called Castilian, which weigh from eight to ten pounds; there are also black ones, and brown ones both light and dark in color. These latter are the best, for some of them weigh up to fifteen pounds. There are many freshwater ruffed grouse, from which the Indians take the skins, feathers and all, with which to make their cloaks. There are many ducks, swallows, cranes, and white pelicans, larger than the geese of Castile, the feathery skins of which the Indians use to wrap their babies in, for the skins are as large as those of moderate-sized lambs, and very soft. There are multitudes of ash-colored quail with red feet; the males have black crests. They are more savory than those of Spain, and a good deal larger. There are countless small birds, such as swallows, calendar larks, etc. Eagles are seen which measure fifteen spans from tip to tip, the shaft of their feathers being as large as the largest finger of the hand. The natives raise some eaglets in their villages, and succeed in domesticating these birds, but they do not eat them.

Among the land animals there are many antelope, which is a kind of mountain goat; and is very good to eat. In the mountains are wild sheep, which are also eaten, and entire herds of elks. These animals are a kind of deer, their heads being furnished with branching horns with many prongs. The skin is of a lustrous sunflower

shade, and the glossy hair is about two inches long. The male has a beard like a he-goat; the tail is white, about a handbreadth long, and very plump. These animals utter shrill whistling sounds; they are as large as cattle, and their flesh is of very good flavor. There are also deer of the ordinary kind, and across the river there are buffaloes, bears, wildcats, wolves, squirrels, coyotes, ferrets, and foxes. In the Sierra de Santa Lucía there are some panthers.

Speaking of fish, since it is unnecessary to treat of them separately in another article, I will say briefly that there is abundance of all species here in this sea. Seals and otters occur as far as one hundred and fifty leagues upstream in the Río de San Faancisco.

Seeds, Fruits, and Other Products of the Vegetable Kingdom

Mention should first be made of rice, which occurs in three or four different species; distinguishing them by color, they are yellow, whitish, blue and black. The latter variety has a pasty color beneath its bark or pellicle. All three kinds are of good quality and flavor, and produce in this country three times as much as Spanish rice produces. The pine-nut is rich and very oily; it can be hulled with the hand on account of the softness of its shell. There is yet another variety which is smaller, very fine, and of better flavor, though it does not contain so much oil. In the vicinity of the Río de San Francisco are seen chestnuts which are as good as those found anywhere.

The acorns of all three species of oak, the live-oak (*quercus ilex*), oak (*quercus robur*), and the cork-tree, are all used to make *atole* (gruel) and *pinole* (parched meal); the acorns are treated in this manner: After they have been skinned and dried in the sun, they are beaten in stone mortars similar to *almireces* (brass mortars for kitchen use), until they are reduced to powder or flour. This is mixed with a suitable quantity of water in close woven baskets, washed repeatedly, and the sediment or coarse flour allowed to settle. This done, it is now put on the sand and sprinkled with more water until the mass begins to harden and break up, and become filled with cracks. It is now ready to eat, uncooked, and is called *pinole* or bread. A part may be boiled in a suitable quantity of water, when it is called *atole* or gruel.

They have a kind of wild bastard onion, which when uncooked can be substituted for soap for washing woolen clothes; when, roasted, it can be eaten. I doubt not that it is the *amolli* (soap-root) of the Mexicans. There is another onion called *cacomistli* which has a very good flavor like that of the sweet potato (*camote*), and still another which is the root of a tuberous grass about like a head of garlic, which is good to eat without any preparation; it is called *capulin*.

There is another kind of rice similar to turnip seed, the plant of which is like the wild amaranth, which is found commonly in the canyons of the mountains. There is also a grass seed having a stalk like wheat, which, when sufficiently compressed, yields a rich flour, being of the oleaginous variety. These natives also eat laurel berries toasted; they are bitter, like kidney-beans, with a little oil. The seed of the cat-tail reed is utilized for making *pinole* of a chocolate color; the roots yield flour for *marchpanes* (*mazapanes*) which are of sweet flavor, and finally from the flower in season they make another *pinole*, yellow, and sweet as curds. The *tezcuma* is a flower similar to the rose of Castile, which grows on a shrub three spans high; on its stalks or stems grow berries like little buttons from the middle of the plant upward. Fire is set at the foot to make the buttons eject a very oily seed, called *pil*, from which another substantially nourishing flour is made.

There is a kind of shrub like the Mexican *texocote*, from the fruit of which a very refreshing drink, somewhat acid like the tamarind, is made by soaking the pulp

in water. Another fruit grows in racimes, the berries of which are about the size of chick-peas, which is like the spiny *manzanillo* of Spain. Roasted in hot ashes, it tastes very good to the Indians, and even to the Spaniards.

The juice of the reed grass (*carrizo*) is obtained, after it has been harvested in season, by exposure to the sun for four or five days, when it can be shaken from the leaves, coagulated and dried, falling like the manna of the apothecary shops.

Native sugar is made from the olive-like fruit produced by a very leafy, tufted shrub six feet high with a stem of reddish color and leaves like those of the mangrove. The preparation of the sugar is so simple that it consists in gathering the ripe fruit, separating the pulp from the seed, and pressing it in baskets to make cakes of sugar when dry and of a good consistency.

To omit nothing that is observed in these regions, I will say that there are two kinds of plants from which the natives obtain thread sufficiently strong for their needs. One of them grows in moist soil, and is very much like true hemp, at least I take it to be so, and the other grows on dry ground, and has leaves like the walnut, ashy colored and downy, with a white flower. When the flower falls, it is time to utilize the plant. Neither of these plants grows to a height of more than three or four spans.

Mexico, November 20, 1775.

"This is a copy of the original, appearing in Volume IV of manuscripts relating to the missions of California."

Mexico, January 31, 1910.

[*A transcript from the Archivo General de Indias, Estante* 104, *Cajon* 6, *Legajo* 17, *contains the following list of words which is omitted from the transcript from the Museo Nacional, Mexico.*]

Finally, I will put here in alphabetical order more than seventy Indian words, the meaning of which I understand very well; I learned them among the natives of the mission of San Luis and twenty leagues round about there. They are as follows:

[The forms printed in brackets are those which appear in *Nouvelles annales des Voyages et des sciences géographiques*, Quatrième serie, cinquième année, tome premier [Paris, 1844, pp. 345-7].—*Editor's Note.*

Anejueso [Anajuesu]	A buckle, and anything made of iron.
Ascamaps [Ascamape]	Salt.
Asnudo [Asnunc]	Let us go for seeds.
Astu	Water.
Chaá	The teeth.
Chapé *or* Aspu	The earth.
Chele [Chete]	The tongue.
Chilipi	The skull.
China	The road.
Chilpiu	The clouds.
Chocono	The deer.
Cuscaxa [Cuxcaxa] *or* Ascamaps [Cis-camapi]	Noon.
Cusnatach	The sun has set.
Custoso *or* Luni	The daughter.
El Texo	Let us go to sleep.
Exetechs	All kinds of clothing.
Jamac *or* Ascuma	The sky.
Lapsú [omitted]	The hide (*cotón*) of a wolf.
Limi	Village.

Lucsi	It has dawned.
Lucsimu	The star.
Lune	A nursing child.
Masnax	The march.
Maxoch	To sleep.
Mil [omitted]	Shells.
Misleu	The arrow.
Misua [Misna]	Son.
Misuyo	Woman.
Miteme	The feet.
Mixacap [Mixacach]	The finger-nails.
Moculten	To eat.
Nesmono	Boy.
Nipu	The fingers.
Nistapi	What is it called?
Paach *or* Maach	The weapon.
Peteche	The eyes.
Petit *or* Pitsmu	The head.
Pex *or* Meex	The mouth.
Pichiu *or* Miecau	The breast.
Piiassi *or* Mixo [Pijawi]	The hair (tresses).
Pismu [omitted]	The tar (*brea*) *chapopote.*
Pocul	The nose.
Quexaquiex	The chin.
Sactasi	The handkerchief.
Sornilap	Large house.
Scsu	The moustache.
Suxuxu [omitted]	Wooden tray.
Taa	The oak (*quereus robur*).
Taach	The bow.
Tacua	The moon.
Taxamin [Tajamin]	The flint.
Tamacsuma	The tray with which women cover themselves.
Tames [Tame]	The shoes.
Tasquin	The reed tray.
Tassiqueu [Tavique, sister]	The sisters.
Tepú	The salt.
Texep	The stone.
Texssu [Texsu]	The alder-tree.
Tiesuni [Ticsuni]	The hide (*cotón*) of the rabbit.
Timix	The branches.
Tissi [Tivi]	The brother.
Tixu	The large man.
Tlasicuyo [Tlavicuyo]	The tender (little) girl.
Tlaxpil	The cord.
Tarcom [Torcom]	The wildcat.
Tuxusqui	The bear.
Tupxononoque	Come here.
Tuquelequeytai [Tuquelequeytu]	Let us go to hunt.
Tussu [Tuvu] *or* Mogomel	The knee.
Tuxugo	The firewood.

These, your Excellency, are the notes which I have the honor to present to you I shall certainly be happy if, in the labors attendant upon my long wanderings and residence in those far-away lands and in the account which I give of them, anything is included which may redound to the honor and glory of God, the faithful service of our master the king, and the benefit of the Spanish nation, ever unconquered, and ever attentive to making happy those subjects whom it holds as vassals to its august monarch in its glorious conquest.

Mexico, November 20, 1775.

PEDRO FAGES (Rubric).

BOOK REVIEWS

A History of the United States Since the Civil War. By Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1917. Pp. 579. Price $3.50.

The multitude of important events which fill the period to be covered by the proposed work of Dr. Oberholtzer has never been adequately treated. The worth of this volume, the first of six which are to discuss the major happenings since the close of the war for Southern independence, suggests the hope that no accident may interrupt the regular appearance of the remaining sections. This deals with the troubled years from 1865–1868, a few brief seasons, but nevertheless an interval filled with controversy and crowded with instruction It includes the events from the collapse of the Confederate States to the purchase of Alaska.

At the outset the author describes the great American tragedy, the assassination of Abraham Lincoln with which was bound up the succession of Andrew Johnson to the Presidency. Perhaps for the latter that was a moment of almost perfect happiness in which at the Kirkwood House he took the oath of office. It is certain that from his view the book of fate was concealed. If his eye could have pierced the future, even his acknowledged moral and physical courage might have hesitated to accept this latest gift of fortune. His sunny hours were few. Until he laid down the cares of office, nearly four years later, he was oppressed with responsibility and was harassed by strife. Care waited on his uprisings as well as his down-sittings and doubtless presided in his dreams. The author does not attempt to portray the unnumbered woes of President Johnson, but by a succession of touches the reader is convinced that, notwithstanding the rather obvious limitations of the President, the unending attacks upon his official acts were instigated by feelings more often vindictive than patriotic. The ferocious spirit of many opposition speeches and the rancorous verse of the fluent scribblers of the press show with photographic fidelity the madness of the time. Cynicism, and libel, and slander were chief among the evil spirits that ruled the hour.

The first impressions of the new President, his attitude toward the recent enemies of the United States, and his endeavor to continue Lincoln's system of reconstruction are the principal themes of the first chapter. This is logically followed by an outline of the task which confronted Johnson, namely, a revival of the prostrate South. Amongst other things this part of the narrative deals, by way of suggestion, with a description of the destruction of its former industrial system, the waste of war, the interruption of agriculture, the disappearance of commerce, and the worthless currency of the Confederacy.

It is well known that in the work of reconstruction President Johnson had been exceedingly active between May 29, 1865, and the meeting of the Thirty-ninth Congress in December following. At that time there were waiting, in Washington, Senators and Representatives from nearly all the late seceding States. They had been sent to the national capital by the States reorganized under the guidance of President Johnson, who appears to have had little doubt that they would be admitted to seats in Congress. In this expectation he was disappointed, for instead of admitting the Southern delegations that body appointed a joint committee of fifteen (nine Representatives and six Senators), instructed to inquire into the condition of the commonwealths of the late Confederacy and ascertain whether any of them were entitled to representation in Congress. The conclusion of this celebrated committee was to admit the delegation from Tennessee, restored under Lincoln's method, to suggest measures of reconstruction, and an amendment to the Constitution (the fourteenth). Soon afterward the work of restoring the Southern States to their normal relations in the Union was taken from the hands of the President and assumed by the Congress. Mr. Johnson, indeed, made a spirited exercise of his veto power, but he was quite unequal to a contest with the legislative branch, many of whose members were unprincipled in their opposition to his policy and who, though devoted partisans, appear to have been of doubtful patriotism.

In the following section, "Congress in Control," the author discusses the beginnings of legislative reconstruction. This comprehends a summary of Southern politics, an enumeration of the petitions for executive clemency, the popularity in the

South of ex-Confederate candidates for office, Southern legislation relative to the negro, and the subject of negro suffrage; also the continuation of the Freedmen's Bureau, the "conquered province" theory of Thaddeus Stevens, and the vetoes of the President. These themes are concisely, fairly, and ably treated by the author.

Having made a survey of the South in the years immediately after the war, Dr. Oberholtzer presents to his readers a description of conditions in the victorious North. This chapter treats of money and prices, of industrial activity, to which was closely related the extension of railway lines and the laying of the Atlantic cable. The influence of its successful operation is also noticed. There is likewise a sketch of American shipping and of the trade with the Orient as well as the navigation of our interior waterways. The development and the resources of the prairie States are described and the extraordinary growth of Western cities such as Chicago impressively told. This part of the narrative enumerates important discoveries, useful inventions, and describes immigration, at that time chiefly from Ireland and Germany. This part of the book contains an animated description of the large-scale production of petroleum, mention of its many uses, and a suggestion of the reckless speculation which it stimulated. The fantastic dress of women, extravagant living, social splendor, and the rise of summer resorts are deemed worthy of notice. Accounts of fraud, peculation, and defalcation complete this chapter and show that the golden age was a period somewhat earlier than the middle sixties.

The following section considers the trans-Mississippi region, the public domain, and the operation of the Homestead Act; also the mining territories, which include Utah and a brief sketch of the Mormons. The author states that "Perhaps not one in four of the Mormons was a polygamist, but plural marriage was openly defended, as it had been from the beginning, by the leaders of the strange sect." The reviewer, however, is of the opinion that Mormonism was not polygamous at the outset and did not become so until it had attained to prosperity. After a visit to Washington, in 1844, the prophet, Joseph Smith, returned to Nauvoo and announced himself as a candidate for the Presidency. It was then that he taught the doctrine of spiritual

wives, chartered sisters of charity, and Cyprian saints. When he began to practice his new principles, there was a secession of many older members, who immediately began the publication of the *Nauvoo Expositor*. It was the destruction of its press by the Mormons that led to the interference of the gentiles of Carthage and the murder in the jail of that town of the prophet and his brother Hyrum. The routes of western travel as well as the modes and their countless perils are also described. The construction of the first railway to the Pacific coast and accounts of all the chief incidents of that enterprise belong to this period. Chinese laborers, "road agents," and "vigilantes" appear at this point in the narrative.

It is not easy in any outline history of the country between the Mississippi and the Pacific to omit a consideration of the native races. A well written chapter treats many phases of the Indian question. But on the whole it is not a record of which an American would care to boast. Perhaps the management of Indian affairs since the Civil War may fairly be rated as the most insignificant of our achievements. The author isolates his subject and examines it as if Americans were lonely dwellers on our planet. Doubtless he feels that it is not in harmony with his plan to sound the depths and shoals of the Indian controversy; also that his task was merely to present a glimpse of the ancient race as they swept by his restricted chronological zone. Some readers will regret, from the instalment which he has given, that the author did not contrast our treatment of the aboriginal races with that of the Dominion Government, the earlier British, the French Canadian or the Latin-American governments. Moreover, there has been at home missionary endeavor not unworthy of notice. Of this nothing has been said. The comparative method is always instructive, in fact, in many activities it is the beginning of learning.

The war upon the President is the appropriate title of one of Dr. Oberholtzer's concluding chapters; it comprehends a multitude of topics more or less intimately related to the main theme. Race riots, political conventions, martial law, presidential egotism, presidential oratory, presidential peculiarities and presidential policies dance through these interesting pages. Rowdy stump speakers contributed to heighten the animosities of

a ruffianly campaign. This battle had gone against the President. Thaddeus Stevens frequently appears at this stage and was in fact the presiding spirit. The activity of Representative Ashley, the impeachment of President Johnson, the attack of Congress on the Supreme Court, Congressional usurpation, the harsh treatment of Jefferson Davis and other subjects of intrinsic interest make up an important chapter.

Accounts of Mexico, Ireland, and Alaska, countries which have little in common, complete the present volume, which examines an extremely important part of our *post bellum* history, namely, the first stage of congressional reconstruction. Basing one's narrative on different facts, it would be possible to write a fairer account of Fenianism.

This work is based upon biographies, newspaper articles, diaries, monographs, public records, reminiscences, speeches, judicial decisions, histories, narratives of travel, etc. All have been carefully examined and used intelligently. The statesman will find in this book much that is instructive, while the reader who seeks entertainment will not be disappointed. But it is particularly valuable to the student of American institutional history.

CHARLES H. MCCARTHY.

A Grammar of English Heraldry. By W. H. St. John Hope. Cambridge University Press, 1913.

This handbook on one of the auxiliary sciences of history is published in the series of "Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature," and gives in the compass of 120 pages the main facts of English Heraldry. After a brief introductory chapter, the author gives a full description of the heraldic charges in a chapter entitled "The Grammar of Heraldry," notwithstanding the fact that the whole book, which covers a much wider field, is called by the same name. The next chapter is devoted to heraldic fields other than the shield, which would seem too much attention paid to a minor point, while two further chapters deal with the differencing of arms and heraldic accessories. The largest part of the book is taken up by an historical sketch of English Heraldry, special emphasis being placed on the Rolls of Arms, and the period of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries.

The chapter on "Heraldic Nomenclature" is used as a repository for miscellaneous information, and the concluding chapter on "Further Study of Heraldry" should have been used to give a good, if brief bibliography, instead of the very unsatisfactory references. If, on the whole, the book is one through which the uninitiated may become easily acquainted with heraldry, it has, as a manual, one very serious fault, that of being polemical. Heraldry as it was and should be, rather than as it is, is the thesis of the book. There is no question but that English heraldry is in sore need of reform, a reform which undoubtedly lies in a return to the older conditions when English heraldry was more simple, and the peculiarly national traits had not yet obscured the fundamental elements, common, in the earlier stages, to the heraldry of all countries. There is certainly great merit in advocating such a reform, and no one would be better qualified than a student of ancient heraldry, but such proposals for reform should be set forth in a special book rather than in a manual. The student who consults a manual wants a concise statement of fundamental facts, and is not interested in controversies. Nevertheless a brief chapter on the reform of Heraldry would have been justified, but there is no excuse for scattering the matter throughout the book, and utilizing the chapter on "Heraldic nomenclature," for which there is really no need at all, for the advocating of reforms.

Mention must also be made of the illustrations, which are of two kinds. The cuts showing the heraldic charges "have been drawn in outline so that students may color them for themselves" although many would prefer that the publisher should have done it. The second type is derived from photographs, and show, for the most part, seals. These illustrations are especially unsatisfactory, as they lack clearness, it being impossible to decipher the legend on a single seal, and even the heraldic bearings are not always sufficiently distinct. In this respect the old-fashioned drawing was much more satisfactory, as the greater subjectivity, as contrasted with the photograph, tended to bring out such devices and inscriptions more clearly.

Barring these defects, which arise mostly out of what seems to me a misconception of the nature of a manual, the book deserves praise for its high scholarly character, which makes it

one every historian will find useful and which he will be glad to consult. The author also deserves praise for the clear manner in which he has treated this subject otherwise so obscure.

HILMAR H. WEBER.

Uncollected Letters of Abraham Lincoln. Now first brought together by Gilbert A. Tracy. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin Company. The Riverside Press of Cambridge, 1917. Pp. 264. Price $2.50 net.

To assemble the letters brought together in this volume required intelligence, industry, and affection. Doubtless Mr. Tracy was delighted with his theme, and, we may inquire, who would not have been? He found his labors agreeable, though he discovered one citizen who had no practical sympathy with even this interesting inquiry. Thrice fortunate must be the investigator, and of address surpassing the celestial, who does not sometimes come upon traces of the boor, for the species has not perished from the earth; a few still wander about our forlorn world. Objects exceedingly bright or conspicuously elevated will oftentimes save insignificance from oblivion. It is probable that "the fool that fired the Ephesian dome," being linked with a goddess chaste and fair, will be remembered as long as Diana herself. For fame an act needs no intrinsic merit if only it chance to be even distantly connected with excellence. Thus in certain circumstances our very limitations may assume a vicarious splendor.

Any book which contributes even slightly to improve our estimate of so distinguished a character as Abraham Lincoln is certain to be welcomed by all readers of American history. Even though a new book about the first of the martyr Presidents contain little that is important, if it only confirm hesitant conclusions concerning some of the minor phases of his remarkable career, it is not without value. The activity of biographers and historians has made President Lincoln better known to American citizens of to-day than he was known, outside of Illinois, to the generation that fought the Civil War.

Of the great President we catch in these notes and letters many glimpses as he toiled upward toward national renown. We see him gracefully and cordially introducing a friend, soliciting

a service for an organization or a community, or furnishing a hint to a fellow Whig; we come upon new proof of his moderate charges for legal advice and a naive announcement of an event in his life which was extremely interesting. To an intimate friend he thus describes it: "Nothing new here, except my marrying, which to me, is matter of profound wonder."

He disclaims any personal indifference to a nomination for Congress, to which in the course of a few years he was elected. From the beginning Lincoln was a master of vigorous, if not elegant expression. In commending Mr. Isaac S. Button he pithily describes his friend as "a trustworthy man and one whom the Lord made on purpose for such business." Another letter of Mr. Tracy's collection shows us an honorable rival for party honors. "Let nothing be said against Mr. Hardin," he cautions a correspondent, and he adds, "nothing deserves to be said against him." If the value of Lincoln's services to the Whig party did not equal those of General Hardin he would *scorn* the nomination "on *any* and *all* other grounds." In other letters may be seen the wise leader who enjoins tranquillity on the members of his uneasy organization; also the man who is never too busy to perform little acts of kindness. After shrewdly forecasting General Taylor's nomination, he modestly adds in a letter to a friend, "you know I can have no intimacy with the President, which might give me a personal influence over him." Practising his principle of "turn about," he clearly stated on a later occasion that he was not a candidate for reëlection. While at the National Capital, he did not forget those whose support had sent him thither, but he never pretended to them to enjoy an influence which he did not possess.

The good Samaritan appears in this brief but characteristic note. "Take care of this boy until tomorrow, or longer if the weather is bad, and send the bill to me." As early as November, 1854, Lincoln was thinking of the United States Senate. As is well known, it was in the effort to gain in Illinois a legislature favorable to his ambition that made him a national character. As he foresaw, he lost the Senate, but in 1860 won the Presidency. Perfect fairness, a master passion of Lincoln, appears in a letter to Owen Lovejoy. He wrote: "Know-Nothingism has not yet entirely tumbled to pieces. . . . About us here, they [the Know-Nothings] are mostly my old political and personal friends,

and I have hoped this organization would die out without the painful necessity of my taking an open stand against them. Of their principles I think little better than I do of those of the slavery extensionists. Indeed I do not perceive how any one, professing to be sensitive to the wrongs of the negro, can join in a league to degrade a class of white men." In harmony with this principle is the note of gratitude shown in a letter to Mrs. Armstrong, who was kind to him in adversity and whose husband had been equally so.

The scope of these letters, of which not a few refer to Lincoln's law business, is considerable, but in all there is evidence of those characteristics which marked the mature statesman. This contribution to Lincoln literature, though not extremely valuable, is nevertheless entitled to respectful consideration. Without it there will be gaps in one's knowledge of the great war President and of his times.

CHARLES H. MCCARTHY.

The Book of The High Romance—A Spiritual Autobiography by Michael Williams. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1918. Pp. 350. Price $1.60.

This is the story of one who gave up Catholicism and wandered hither and thither in response to spiritual impulses which finally found satisfaction only in the Church. Under the guidance of The Little Flower the author has come home again.

American Catholic confessional literature is generally a bald, matter of fact account of conversion. By contrast Mr. Williams' book is unique in this country. It is literature, though as a piece of writing its very spontaneity gives it certain faults. It is apologetics, and though it is free from the precisions of theology, no personal narrative need forfeit validity for that reason. The historically-minded will welcome a description of some of the outstanding forces of radical anti-Christian intellectualism in America. And they will also see in microcosm the post-Reformation world of thought and feeling, though Mr. Williams does not put himself forward as a parable of the universe.

But it is as "High Romance," a sincere "spiritual autobiography," that the book, thus accurately entitled, will make the greatest of its many appeals.

JOSEPH EGAN.

The Aftermath of the Civil War, in Arkansas. By Powell Clayton, Governor of Arkansas, 1868–1871. New York: The Neale Publishing Company, 1915. Pp. 378.

A multitude of works discuss the attempts of President Lincoln and of President Johnson to restore the seceding States to their normal relations in the Union and of Congress to apply to those commonwealths its system of reconstruction. From the usual presentation of this subject a Northern sympathizer, even one who has been accustomed to act with the Republican organization, can hardly avoid the conclusion that Congress blundered lamentably in the endeavor to administer its measures. In fact, he is likely to be persuaded that the orgies which marked legislative reconstruction form the only blot on the fair Republican escutcheon. The "conquered province" theory of Thaddeus Stevens and the "State suicide" theory of Senator Sumner were, perhaps, the chief ingredients in the political caldron. The spirit of vindictiveness in which this legislation was conceived would serve for the "blind-worm's sting" in the haggish mixture. After having read many, if not most of the monographs on reconstruction, the present reviewer does not remember to have seen many complimentary allusions to the programme of Congress. In fact, those narratives collectively almost justify the organization and to some extent the conduct of the Knights of the White Camelia, popularly known as the Ku Klux Klan. Admitting the existence in Washington of considerable ignorance of conditions in the South, one cannot at the same time assume that amongst Radical Republicans either stupidity or vindictiveness was universal. This supposition would be both unnatural and contrary to established facts. Indeed, there is much to be said in justification of the apparent harshness of the majority in Congress.

This author, basing his conclusions upon public documents, articles selected from hostile newspapers, intimate personal knowledge, and other reliable sources, tells a plain unwrinkled tale. He satisfactorily explains a subject hitherto not clearly understood, namely, the ready submission by Southern leaders during the months immediately following the proclamation in May, 1865, of President Johnson (relative to the conditions for establishing a loyal government in North Carolina) and their

subsequent change to an attitude of uncompromising hostility to everything Federal. For a detailed account of these causes the reader must consult the pages of Governor Clayton.

The author does not enumerate all the murders in his State, for even a brief sketch of outrages terminating fatally would of itself fill a volume. In *ante bellum* times as well as in the early *post bellum* era, intimidation, whipping, and murder were not infrequent throughout the South, but during the incumbency of Governor Clayton, 1868–1871, the Ku Klux dens of Arkansas won for that State a distinction in infamy which has probably never been equaled in any other section of the United States.

There is not in this valuable work of ex-Congressman Clayton a single boastful note. Indeed, self-praise was not necessary, for his public addresses make evident his intelligence, his patriotism and his courage. The years during which he filled the place of chief executive of his commonwealth were not such as to persuade "lily-livered" statesmen to accept high office. Beyond the Mississippi many ex-Confederates tarnished their fine military record earned in the war. In fact, one may suspect that Southern chivalry was far from being so general as readers of Civil War literature have been led to believe. There were in Arkansas many members of the White Camelia who would hardly be described as "gentle knights," and east of the Mississippi, in Tennessee, were others leagued with them in foul conspiracy. The most bitter of Radical Congressmen were angels of light in comparison with many Arkansas representatives of the "Lost Cause." It was not necessary for the author even slightly to exaggerate the hideous acts of those who made no secret of their conviction that any measures against Republicans were justified. The crimes either alluded to or described in this book were not provoked by hostile Republican legislation. Some writers have assembled extenuating circumstances, but there is not in the United States learning or ingenuity sufficient to vindicate Ku Klux brutality.

The former Governor of Arkansas, with the seasoned judgment of four-score years and two, and the temperate spirit subdued by time, has from his ample stores of information prepared much the best monograph on any phase of Congressional reconstruction that has yet been offered to the public. When

we state that this is a valuable contribution to American history, we are not using a conventional description in a vague sense. Though the remark is not altogether pertinent, it should be added that the trials of the South during reconstruction were largely due to the fact that Governors like Powell Clayton were not elsewhere in office. In fact, such men have never come in crops. Why did an executive so accomplished and so courageous, it may be asked, not meet with success more perfect? He presided over a community then backward and in many respects rude.

CHARLES H. MCCARTHY.

Life of Charles Carroll of Carrollton. By Lewis A. Leonard. New York: Moffat, Yard and Company, 1918. Pp. 313.

After Charles Carroll had attained to maturity of years it was no longer easy to separate the more important incidents of his life from the history of his State and country. So useful and so conspicuous were his services in the cause of American independence that the present reviewer has always been puzzled by the omission of his life from the excellent series of biographies entitled "American Statesmen." When the existence of this deficiency was brought to the notice of its general Editor, that scholarly gentleman expressed his regret that the series had been closed. Subsequently, it appears, it was opened, but into the ranks of even this lower range of statesmen the leading Maryland patriot of the Revolutionary period has not been admitted. The existence of Mr. Leonard's work, however, is a proof that there are intelligent writers who would have cheerfully undertaken so agreeable a piece of research. If it be contended that this book contains little concerning the last of the signers that is really new, the same statement may be truthfully made of many recent works of undoubted popularity. Some of them, to be sure, have put their narratives into better literary form than that in which they were first found, and in the sense that the thought belongs to him who says it best their books are original. Nevertheless, in our estimates we should not rate too highly the success of a mere thought-clothier.

If this reviewer had prepared for publication a new life of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, he would have called attention to

the mutilation in *Modern Eloquence* of Webster's splendid oration on Adams and Jefferson. By a method of condensation, which doubtless economizes ink and paper, that great statesman's beautiful allusion to Carroll is omitted without so much as a hint to the "gentle" reader. The higher mathematics might enable one to calculate the cost of periods or of superior figures and footnotes. But whatever the reason, whether the exclusion was because of things material or for reasons light as air, one of Webster's masterpieces has been woefully altered by a board of editors who lived in an age of politics and commerce. Webster contrasted not only the living and the dead, but the pure patriot with two distinguished characters whose careers were not so nearly flawless. This reviewer does not attempt to explain what he does not fully understand, but he believes that this abridged speech should have been noticed by Mr. Leonard.

That this slighting of Charles Carroll, probably because of a commercial necessity, is not entirely an accident seems to be established not only by the silent omission of a paragraph in a carefully considered address but by the failure of Moses Coit Tyler, in his admirable *Literary History of the American Revolution*, to mention Charles Carroll as even one of the minor authors of that fruitful era. Dulaney, indeed, who defended kings and royal governors, is honored in that work, while his more able and patriotic adversary is passed without notice. If this writer's canons of literary criticism were drawn from the works of Ruskin, Newman, DeQuincy, or Burke or the other masters of prose style, he should have excluded many besides this Maryland statesman. In a word, Mr. Carroll does not appear to be highly regarded by men who have taken light draughts from the stream of American history. Collectively such suppressions appear to be significant. The present author should have examined them and explained why it is that in our time the noteworthy services of this patriot seem to be familiar to few except Catholic citizens and to most Marylanders regardless of creed. In our opinion it is not the personal estimate which makes him great.

The reprint of Carroll's *Journal* of the mission to Canada adds not a little to the value of this book. The same observation is true of Washington's letter *To the Roman Catholics in the*

United States of America, which also is included. An index would have added to the utility of this volume.

Induced by the force of family traditions as well as state pride, and a descendant of colonial Marylanders has a right to be proud of ancestral achievement, Mr. Leonard undertook this work with more than the usual affection of an author for his theme. He has produced a readable and instructive book, which deserves a place in both public and private libraries.

CHARLES H. MCCARTHY.

Virginia under The Stuarts (1607–1688). By Thomas J. Wertenbaker, Ph.D. Princeton: Princeton University Press. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1914. Pp. 271.

The years 1607–1688, the period covered by this essay, were eventful ones for England and for Virginia. Milton, the eloquent champion of liberty, especially for his own sect, was born in 1608; Shakespeare lived on for eight, and Bacon for eighteen years. The reign of James I had ended in 1625, but before his death there had commenced with Parliament that quarrel which led his son Charles I to the block. Then followed the usurpation of Cromwell, whose son Richard appears to have inherited little of his father's military genius or his talent for leadership. The English people being no longer devoted to the Commonwealth, the Restoration (1660) was accomplished without much disturbance of the national life. But the dignified lords and simple ladies who graced the court of Charles I had by the time of the second Charles given way to libertine lords and shameless courtesans. In a sense the orgies following the Restoration were a protest against the gloom, the desolaiton, and the melancholy madness of Puritanism, whose principal exponents were Milton, Marvel, and Bunyan, though Hobbes was its lawgiver. The accession of Charles II made it safe for Butler to publish his rancorous verse. Dryden, a master of the two harmonies wrote sometimes to please himself, but generally to entertain the court. In his licentious pictures Wycherley outdid the "immortal John." To this and to the succeeding age belonged Waller and Denham, Farquhar and Congreve. The brief but troubled reign of James II was ended by the Revolution of 1688, which produced its crop of *Tatlers* and *Spectators*.

But in seventeenth-century England there were, besides those who exclusively cultivated the muses, highminded men who were neither terrified by Puritan spectres nor degraded by courtly debauchery. There were brave and clever men like Raleigh, learned and versatile men like Bacon, honest and sensible men like Calvert. Their thoughts turned much on plantations, work in which each had given practical proofs of his interest, especially the first named and the last.

Dr. Wertenbaker vividly describes the courage, the sufferings, and the enthusiasm of the men who founded Virginia. His first chapter, based chiefly on primary sources, suggests the woes that filled the early years of Jamestown. The tale though familiar seems never to lose its interest. In his account of the first President of the Virginia Council the author does not mention *Archaeologia Americana* one of the volumes of which includes Deane's essay on Edward Maria Wingfield, the only one of the patentees who came to Virginia. An examination of this subject and a proper subordination of Smith's testimony would have improved the treatment of the beginnings of Virginia. The wreck on one of the Summer Islands of the *Sea Adventure* should have suggested a reference to *The Tempest*, in which Shakespeare alludes to the "still-vex'd Bermoothes," showing by his artful spelling of the name of their discoverer an acquaintance with the Spanish tongue.

The second chapter describes the development of Virginia and the establishment in that province of representative government; also the controversy between James I and the London Company, which culminated in the loss of its charter. The prevalence of sickness among the settlers and the massacre by the Indians are likewise noticed; also the resolution of the English to destroy the native population. The later experience of Maryland and Pennsylvania as well as the contemporary experience of the French suggests that it was possible to form with the Indians a better arrangement than that established by the Jamestown colonists. The trials of the settlers, which were ascribed to the mistakes of the company, led King James to take into his own hands the affairs of the colony. In addition to the succession of misfortunes attending this adventure the king perceived in the administration of Virginian affairs unmistakable evidences of hostility

to things monarchical, and in determining to revoke the charter these signs of democracy were not without influence.

King Charles, whose ambition was to be known as a gentleman of elegance and fashion, appears to have thought little of his distant subjects. This neglect may serve to explain his friendship for Sir William Harvey, whose official conduct spread confusion and unrest among the colonists. By giving to the Barons Baltimore the land to the north of the Potomac as far as the fortieth parallel, Charles supplied the Virginians with a new grievance. Referring to this act, Dr. Wertenbaker states that "They resented the encroachment upon their territories, they hated the newcomers because most of them were Catholics, they feared the loss of a part of their Indian trade, and they foresaw the growth of a dangerous rival in the culture of tobacco." The proportion of Protestants to Catholics in the passenger lists of the *Ark* and the *Dove* has been the subject of some searching investigations, but nevertheless it has not been satisfactorily settled. The evidence indicates that the Catholics were fewer than one-half of the whole. Maryland is always regarded as a settlement made by Catholics, not because they were numerically stronger than non-Catholics, but because they were more influential. In the first half of the seventeenth century men were weighed rather than counted. In a word, the founders of Maryland and those who shaped its early institutions, though not a majority of its people, were Catholics.

The careful student of American colonial history will be surprised to learn that the Calverts were not the founders of the first colony in Maryland, but that this honor is ascribed to William Claiborne. "In thus founding a colony within Baltimore's territory," says the author, "he [Claiborne] was sustained by the Council." It has never been asserted that the worthy adventurers who came to the region of the Chesapeake in the *Ark* and the *Dove* were the first white sojourners in the country included in what afterward became the province of Maryland. Though in no sense the founder of the colony, or of any colony, Claiborne's considerable activity was long exerted to destroy the flourishing settlements made under the auspices of the Calverts.

The Lords Baltimore were the founders of Maryland in the sense in which nearly half a century afterward William Penn

was the founder of the colony immediately to the northward. No historian of repute has claimed for Swedish trappers on the Wissahickon or their countrymen on Tinicum Island any share in establishing the great Quaker colony. Nor had the enterprising traders of New Haven, who sought furs along the Schuylkill, any part in the colonization of Pennsylvania. To Penn, for reasons well known, was awarded the territory by Charles II, and it was for the government of his colony that a charter was issued. In the case of Maryland, the grant intended for the first Baron Baltimore was, on his death, conferred on his son Cecilius, the second Baron Baltimore. That charter, pointing back to the medieval County Palatine of Durham, provided the first fundamental law for the colonists of Calvert. Neither King nor Parliament, on the other hand, had given lands or a charter to Claiborne's "colony." One need not ascribe to him the crimes of his bandit friends. His own achievements sufficiently denote him.

Referring further to Harvey, the author remarks (p. 72) that the Governor's "espousal of the cause of the enemies of Virginia made the planters regard him as a traitor." An attentive examination of the early history of Maryland does not show the people of that province to have been hostile to their countrymen below the Potomac. The first Baron Baltimore, in expectation of living amongst them, had actually visited Jamestown, but had been forced thence by an intolerance which the worthy sons of that proud State are not accustomed to emphasize. Moreover, one does not need to travel far in the science of logic to be convinced that the colony of Virginia and Claiborne were not identities. These statements are not intended as a defense of Harvey, but to serve for correction in history. The unworthiness of the Governor, indeed, sufficiently appears from an examination of the archives of the British Public Records Office. That the Council of Virginia was hostile to Maryland is more than implied in Harvey's attempt to obtain their promise "not to molest Maryland." They refused (p. 77) to comply with this as with other requests of the departing representative of royalty. But in scope the religious antipathy of Virginians extended further than to Catholics, for the author states that after the arrival of Berkeley "several statutes had been passed by the Assembly to suppress

the Quakers and Puritans." But when, notwithstanding the laws, Puritan ministers bearing commendations from Governor Withrop did arrive, Berkeley caused a law to be passed requiring conformity and imposing upon the authorities the duty of expulsion. Discouraged by the nature of their reception, two of the clergymen returned to Massachusetts, though one remained behind.

The chapter describing the causes of Bacon's Rebellion and that which treats of the progress of the insurrection itself give the best account of that movement which the reviewer remembers to have read. This part of the narrative is supplemented by a section which admirably describes the ensuing era of confusion in the colony. Though generations were to pass before the war for independence, Virginians appear never to have entirely forgotten the ancestral experience with royal governors.

In his concluding chapter, which considers the critical period, the author states (p. 56) that "the glorious Revolution was a victory for liberty even more important to Virginia than to England." This estimate is not in harmony with the reviewer's recollection of his reading in American colonial history. Whatever benefits may have ultimately resulted to England from the coming of the Prince of Orange, the colonies, which had thrived by the neglect of the early Stuarts, were ruled by a firmer hand. But the soldier-statesman from Nassau, who had delivered the British people from "Popery, from wooden shoes, and brass money," ruled the colonists with a touch of despotism. If he had not been the champion of orthodoxy, one wonders whether his rigor would have been so cheerfully forgiven. Doubtless in the change of kings the spacious firmament had lost nothing of its grandeur, the landscape nothing of its beauty, but the aspect of humanity under William, Anne, and the first two Georges, was repulsive. Were one to quote the playwrights of the period, some provision of the Espionage Act might be invoked by our Department of Justice, for the conclusions of critics read like libels on an ancient nation. In those reigns Paradise was, as yet, but a speck in the remote depths of the universe. The writings of Swift and the speeches of Walpole show corruption in high places and brutality in low. But fortunately by the time of George III the nation was moving toward higher things.

Dr. Wertenbaker's monograph is a valuable contribution to the interesting history of Virginia, a subject on which his knowledge is at once ample and accurate. It is only when he passes the limits of the Old Dominon that he occasionally slips. A title descriptive of the contents of this book would be *Virginia to the Revolution of* 1688, for Mary, who was queen regnant, as well as her sister Anne were Stuart sovereigns. This study, which has little to say of Virginia under William and Mary, gives the reader no information concerning colonial happenings under Queen Anne.

CHARLES H. MCCARTHY.

A History of Spain. Founded on the *Historia de España y de la civilización española* of Rafael Altamira. By Charles E. Chapman, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History in the University of California. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1918. Pp. xv+559.

The fast-developing interest in things Spanish and Spanish-American, one aspect of which is to be observed in the vastly increased classes in Spanish in American schools and colleges—in great measure a mushroom growth, artificially "forced" by a dollars-and-cents, non-cultural stimulus, but at bottom sound and lasting—has had its effect in the world of scholarship as well, if one is to judge by such recent publications as Dr. Coester's invaluable *History of Spanish-American Literature*, Professor Merriman's *The Rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and in the New* (of which two of the projected four volumes have appeared), and the present useful work, which the author characterizes as "an attempt to give in one volume the main features of Spanish history from the standpoint of America."

With commendable straightforwardness Professor Chapman not only acknowledges his indebtedness to the monumental work of that master historian of Spain Rafael Altamira y Crevea (*Historia de España y de la civilización española*, 4 vols., Barcelona, 1900–1911), as he was of course bound to do, but in his sub-title announces his book as "founded" thereon, a praiseworthy mark of honesty and modesty, but one which nevertheless does not do full justice to his own contribution. Not only has he had to condense Altamira's materials within a compass only one-fifth

as great, but in addition he has based one entire chapter (Chap. XXXII, dealing with the reign of Charles III) on his own researches, while for the period since 1808 he has been compelled to rely entirely on sources other than Altamira, and in the last chapter, that on contemporary Spain, has given the fruits of his own studies and observations during a residence of some years in that country. All this is pointed out, with equal modesty, by Sr. Altamira himself in the laudatory introduction that he has written for the book. The general impression that one gains from this first insight is that the work is to be distinguished by fairness, scholarliness, dignity, and honesty, an impression which closer examination seems to bear out.

As intimated above, the book is primarily intended for American readers (in both continents) and Dr. Chapman has borne in mind throughout that those features of Spanish history that directly or indirectly have affected our own history and that of our sister nations of the South are naturally of paramount interest. Accordingly, the place of Spain in general European history is given relatively little space, emphasis being laid on the growth of Spanish civilization and the development of Spanish institutions, with their ultimate transfer to the Americas kept constantly in view, while more than half the volume is devoted to the years 1479 to 1808, the three centuries from the sixteenth to the nineteenth being especially singled out in this way not only because they are the period of the transmission of Spanish civilization to the Americas, but also because the Spanish institutions that affected the colonies at all did so in the form that they acquired at that time. This is stated in the author's preface, and in practically these words.

Something has been said of the importance given to the growth of Spanish civilization and the development of Spanish institutions. This is a modern history, and as such is concerned with particular personages, dates, and events only in so far as they serve as pegs (the author's own term) upon which to hang the study of the development of civilization. The modern historiographer is interested primarily in causes and effects, in the investigation of those great underlying conditions—social, economic, intellectual, and religious, as well as political—which are the soul of history, which *are* history in the modern philo-

sophic sense. An understanding of these conditions forms the background upon which dates and names and events stand out in their proper light, and it is just as essential to a real comprehension of their relative and comparative significance as the stage and setting are to the actor; without it there could be no historical actors, no action. In this instance, these underlying conditions were in a constant state of change and flux, and the author has treated Spanish institutions "not as static (which they never were) but in process of evolution, from period to period." Miner events and personages of lesser importance have not been referred to except cumulatively, in certain cases, for purposes of illustration or emphasis. The account is, moreover, topically arranged, so that recourse may be had to appropriate chapters for the study of any particular feature (social, economic, etc.) of Spanish history for any given period, while in some cases chapters are so divided topically as to permit investigation of individual institutions or of conditions in the various component parts of the country.

A cursory examination of the chapter headings will illustrate the system which the author has followed. For example, Chapter VII discusses "The Era of the Spanish Crusades (1031–1276)" from the narrative point of view, while Chapter VIII treats "Social and Political Organization in Spain (1031–1276)" and Chapter IX "Material and Intellectual Progress in Spain (1031–1276)." Each of these chapters is sub-divided under the headings "Moslem Spain," "León and Castile," "Aragon Proper," "Catalonia," "Valencia," "Balearic Islands," and "Navarre." As a further illustration, one notes that Chapter X takes up "Development toward National Unity: Castile (1252–1479)," Chapter XI "Development toward National Unity: Aragon (1276–1379)," while Chapter XII discusses "Social Organization in Spain (1252–1479)," Chapter XIII "The Castilian State (1252–1479)," Chapter XIV "The Aragonese State (1276–1479)," Chapter XV "Economic Organization in Spain (1252–1479)," Chapter XVI "Intellectual Progress in Spain (1252–1479)," and Chapter XVII "Institutions of Outlying Spanish States (1252–1479)."

Similarly, for the "Era of the Catholic Kings (1479–1517)," Chapter XVIII is concerned with political history, while Chapters XIX, XX, and XXI discuss respectively "Social Reforms,"

"Political Reforms," and "Material and Intellectual Progress" during that important period. The same plan is followed for the period 1516–1700 (Chaps. XXV–XXX) and for the period 1700–1808 (Chaps. XXXIV–XXXVIII), in each case separate chapters being assigned to political institutions, economic factors, religious conditions, and intellectual activities (education, philosophy, history, science, literature, art, etc.).

The value of this arrangement is obvious, especially when it accompanies adequate editorial apparatus such as Dr. Chapman has provided. This includes a thorough index, a marginal gloss which serves as running commentary on the text, and an extended (but select) bibliography of works in English dealing with the general history of Spain, with special periods, or with travel and description. A general map of Spain and a special map illustrating the development toward national unity (910–1492) add to the utility of the volume.

In discussing a work of this nature it is of course hopeless to attempt to signalize particular features in any great detail. The book is general in character, a handbook of Spanish history summarizing the results of research upon particular aspects and periods rather than a volume of original material. It is not written primarily for the specialist, who can read Altamira or, indeed, the original documents for himself; and only the specialist is seriously interested in those matters of minor detail, such as the solution of knotty problems by the application of modern research methods, points which are the joy and zest of the scholar's life but not of especial moment to the ordinary student or that kind friend of the overworked reviewer—the "general reader." It is worth while, however, to mention a few of the features that seem worthy of particular notice, without prejudice to the many others of equal interest that the book undoubtedly contains. First, as to matters of religious controversy: the Church has played a great part throughout Spanish history, and some of her noblest names are Spanish. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that the Church is frequently mentioned in the book; indeed, two entire chapters are devoted to her relations with the state. Dr. Chapman is a scholar, and has a scholar's respect for truth. His treatment of matters of a controversial nature is impartial and restrained. This is especially noticeable in the

discussion of the Inquisition, that bugbear of the older school of historians. Throughout, Dr. Chapman lays stress upon the semi-political character of the Inquisition. For example, on page 311, he says, "In fact the Inquisition was virtually an instrument of the kings, who did not hesitate to direct its action as if it were legally subject to them," pointing to its trial of St. Ignatius and Santa Teresa, and the fact that Bartolomé Carranza, Archbishop of Toledo, was only saved from it by Pope Pius IV (p. 307). Reference is frequently made to the opposition to some of the activities of the Inquisition on the part of the clergy and hierarchy, as in the Netherlands (p. 250), where attention is called in a striking way to the opposition of the "nobles and clergy alike" to the introduction of the Inquisition, and emphasis is laid on the fact that the early leaders of the revolt in the Netherlands were Catholics, many of them members of the clergy, and that the hotbed of rebellion was the Catholic south rather than the Protestant north. So much for Professor Chapman's fairness and impartiality on these delicate questions.

Other features of marked interest are the sympathetic treatment of modern Spain, in which the author shows common sense and much frankness, and the surprisingly competent chapters on the Golden Age in Spain (education, science, literature, and art), which would do credit to a Fitzmaurice-Kelly. A small point, but one which shows Dr. Chapman's scholarly accuracy, is his consistent use of "Moslem," the comprehensive term, for the commonly employed 'Moor," which does not include the Arabs, who played a far more important role in the development of Spanish culture.

The style of the book, while not noteworthy as an exercise in English (that would be asking too much), is clear, straightforward, and interesting. The volume is free from misprints, no small achievement considering the many Spanish names and the perverseness of compositors, an evidence of the author's painstaking care in reading the proofs. It is to be hoped that Professor Chapman will soon be able to give us the corresponding volume on Spanish-America that he half promises in his preface.

H. G. Doyle.

NOTES AND COMMENT

Now that the American army is returning to civil life, a more determined effort will be made by the historical agencies in the country to gather together all the material available for the story of the war. Naturally the War Department, the State Department, the Commissions on Training Camp Activities, the Knights of Columbus, the seven organizations represented in the United War Drive of November, 1918, the Red Cross, and many others will have their own plans for the history of their activities. Besides these, there are the State Historical Societies, the State War History Commissions, the State Councils of Defence, and other bodies of historical scholars, who will assist in the work of writing the war's history. The Committee on Historical Records of the National Catholic War Council recently presented to the Archbishops of the country its *First Annual Report*. In every diocesan center it is planned to organize a diocesan war history committee for the purpose of gathering up all material available for the history of American Catholics in the war. Every diocesan committee is to have three bureaus:

1. *A War Museum:* Every Diocese should possess one or two rooms somewhere where samples of everything used by the soldiers should be stored. There should be, for example, a sample of the kit used by the chaplains, a sample of all the things sent by the Chaplains Bureau to the soldiers, uniforms, gas masks and general equipment. There should be also in this museum a collection of souvenirs, such as helmets, shells and other things. The idea behind this would be not only to preserve these things but also to have them on exhibition as a stimulus towards the idea of preservation.

2. *A War Library:* All the printed official documents from any one in authority from the highest to the lowest rank within the confines of the state, county, town, province, diocese, and parish should be carefully bound in loose leaf fashion, permanent binding being a mistake at this stage. All possible war books already printed or to be printed should be carefully classified. There should be a complete set of every publication, *i. e.*, newspapers, reviews, magazines, etc., from the beginning of the war which in any way deal with war activities. All publications by any official or non-official organization, Catholic or non-Catholic, or otherwise, should also be there.

3. *A War Archives:* The possibilities of material for what should go into this depot are almost limitless—letters from soldiers, diaries of soldiers, photographs of all kinds, posters of all kinds, specimens of service flags, buttons, programs of concerts, programs of all sorts of patriotic demonstrations, etc., etc.

With its well-organized system of government, there is no fear that, once the soldiers are returned to their former avocations, a complete historical survey of Catholic activities can be made. Meanwhile all are urged to send to the Committee on Historical Records at 932 Fourteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D. C., whatever historical material they possess.

An article on the Catholic Church in the United States, deserving translation, is one published by the present Bishop of Ogdensburg, Dr. Gabriels, entitled *Le Catholicisme aux Etats-Unis durant le XIX^e^ siècle*, which appeared in the *Correspondant* for January, 1901.

The Right Rev. William Turner, D.D., one of the five Associate Editors of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, was consecrated Bishop of Buffalo, March 30, 1919. Bishop Turner was educated at Mungret College, Limerick, Ireland, at the Royal University of Ireland, and at the College of Propaganda, Rome. He was appointed Associate Professor in Philosophy at the Catholic University of America in 1906. He has also been editor of the *Catholic University Bulletin*, and of the *Ecclesiastical Review*. His best known work is his *History of Philosophy*, which was published in 1903. THE CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW has profited largely by his judgment and scholarship and wishes him a sincere *ad multos annos*.

In the death of James A. Rooney, LL.D., who passed away on January 17, 1919, Catholic historical scholarship has suffered a unique loss. Dr. Rooney was born December 25, 1842, at Willville, County Monaghan, Ireland, the home of his mother's family, the MacKennas of Truagh. His father, Dr. Redmond J. Rooney, of Enniskillen, after graduating from Dublin University, came to America in 1848 and located in New York City. His uncle, Father John MacKenna, was one of the pioneer priests of the Brooklyn Diocese. James Rooney was graduated from Niagara University in the Class of 1860, the first to graduate from that institution. He served all through the Civil War, and was discharged with the rank of major. He was one of the best known G. A. R. men in the country. His entire historical collection has been given to the Catholic University of America. Among his papers is a complete set of *The Catholic Chronologist*, which Dr. Rooney published during 1913, 1914, 1915. This timely record of the many memorable events in the Catholic history of America was to become eventually a volume to be entitled *Catholic Talks and Walks in Fields Historical*. The completion of this valuable work was hindered during the past three years by the illness which eventually caused his death. The late Cardinal Farley, who wrote an introduction to the volume, stated that "the happy thought of collecting and coordinating note-worthy events in the history of the Catholic Church in America was little short of inspiration." Dr. Rooney's whole heart was in the work, for by it he felt he could stimulate the study and reading of Catholic American historical topics and thus keep alive their memory.

Many are asking the question whether there is soon to be a Fourth Plenary or National Council of the Church in the United States. The organized Church in America is now one hundred and thirty years old, and certain landmarks are necessary for the accurate history of national conciliar legislation in the Church of the United States during that time.

From 1790 to 1808, the United States of that time comprised a single Diocese —that of Baltimore, which was governed by Bishop Carroll. In 1808, Pope

Pius VII created four suffragan Sees—Bardstown (now Louisville), Boston, Philadelphia, and New York. Baltimore became an archiepiscopal See, with Archbishop John Carroll as its metropolitan. The See of New Orleans had been placed under his jurisdiction in 1806, and thus was formed the first ecclesiastical province of the Church in the United States. As the country grew in length and breadth, the Church multiplied *pari passu* its parishes and dioceses, but the single ecclesiastical province, with the Archbishops of Baltimore—Neale (1815–1817), Maréchal (1818–1828), Whitfield (1828–1834), Eccleston (1834–1851), and F. P. Kenrick (1851–1863)—at its head, still held its unique position.

When the First Plenary Council of the Church in the United States opened on May 9, 1852, there were six ecclesiastical provinces—Baltimore (1808), Oregon City (1846), St. Louis (1847), New Orleans (1850), New York (1850), and Cincinnati (1850); and there were present at its sessions six Archbishops and thirty-five suffragan Bishops. The Bishop of Monterey, and the Bishop of Toronto, Canada, were also in attendance.

When the Second Plenary Council began its sessions on October 7, 1866, there were seven Archbishops and thirty-nine Bishops present,—the seventh ecclesiastical province being that of San Francisco, which was created on July 25, 1853.

Eighteen years later, when the Third and, up to our time, the last, Plenary Council opened on November 9, 1884, the fourteen ecclesiastical provinces as they exist today were represented.

We have then a certain number of logical divisions for the study of national Catholic legislation:

I. *The Church in the United States under the Bishop of Baltimore* (1790–1808).
II. *The Church in the United States under the Archbishops of Baltimore* (1808–1852).
III. *The Legislation of the First Plenary Council of the Church in the United States* (1852–1866).
IV. *The Legislation of the Second Plenary Council* (1866–1884).
V. *The Legislation of the Third Plenary Council* (1884–1919).

I. During the first eighteen years (1790–1808) when Bishop John Carroll governed the Church in the United States, his jurisdiction was supreme, with the exception of the border countries where that jurisdiction was shared by mutual agreement with the Bishops of Quebec and the Bishops of Mexico. The whole territory of the United States was placed under Bishop Carroll's jurisdiction by the Congregation of Propaganda on January 29, 1791, but certain parts of this territory were still in dispute, such as the regions about Detroit and Natchez. The agreement with the Bishops of Quebec and of Mexico made them Vicars-General of Bishop Carroll. During those years but one national Synod was

convoked—that of Baltimore in 1791. The letter of convocation is dated September 27, 1791 (Shea, Vol. ii, p. 394), and the Sessions were held on November 7, 8, 9, and 10, 1791. There were present besides Bishop Carroll, Fathers Pellentz (Vicar-General for the whole United States), Molyneux (Vicar-General for the Southern District), Fleming (Vicar-General for the Northern District), Nagot, (President of St. Mary's Seminary), and sixteen other priests, among them Father Leonard Neale, who was to succeed Carroll as Archbishop of Baltimore, and Father Lawrence Graessel, who died as Coadjutor-elect of Baltimore in October, 1793. The story of this Synod is told in Shea, Vol. ii, pp. 394–399. Its statutes were published in 1817—*Statuta Synodi Baltimorensis anno 1791 celebratae* (p. 21), and reprinted in the *Concilia Provincialia Baltimori habita ab anno 1829 usque ad annum 1849* (Baltimore, 1851, p. 307.) Finotti (*Bibliog. Cath. Americana*, p. 238) states that there is preserved in the archives of St. Mary's Seminary, a manuscript entitled *Synod of '91*, in the handwriting of Dr. Nagot. The MS. is "wrapped in the passport given to the Doctor and signed by Louis XVI." Shea tells that the *Acta* of this Synod form the first body of laws adopted for the Government of the Church in this country, and that they have constantly excited the admiration of all who study them. "The first Provincial Council, held at Baltimore in 1829, expressing admiration for the zeal, prudence, and learning displayed by Bishop Carroll in a Synod (1791) held when, from the spirit of the time and the scattered position of the faithful, unity was so difficult, ordered the Acts of the Synod to be printed at the head of those of the Provincial Council, a position they have to this day retained in all the collections of the Acts of the Provincial Councils of Baltimore" (p. 398). Two documents which form part of the Acts of this Synod are Carroll's *Circular on Christian Marriage* (1791), and his *Lenten Pastoral* of 1792.

II. During the next forty-four years (1808-1852) the statutes of the Synod of 1791 formed the basis for the canonical legislation which followed down to the First Plenary Council. An official meeting took place in 1810—the so-called Agreement of 1810, when Archbishop Carroll with his Suffragans met for the purpose of regulating certain difficulties not foreseen by the members of the Synod of 1791. This Agreement will be found in the publication of 1851, referred to above. The *Pastoral* of 1810 which brought the meaning of the Agreement to the faithful, will be found in full in Shea (Vol. ii, pp. 633–635). That continual legislation for the Church was necessary is evident from the number of Provincial Councils held from 1829 to 1849. Father Fanning, S.J., who writes the article *Baltimore—Provincial Councils*, in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* (Vol. ii, pp. 239–241), rightly claims that the first seven Provincial Councils, held in 1829, 1832, 1837, 1840, 1843, 1846, and 1849, were practically, though not formally, national or plenary councils of the Church in the United States. Shea gives ample treatment to these seven provincial councils, and their *Acta et Decreta* will be found in the collection: *Concilia Provincialia Baltimori habita ab anno 1829 usque ad annum 1849. Editio altera.* (Baltimore, 1857, pp. 307). Other documents of importance are: *Lettre pastorale de Nosseigneurs l'archévêque de Baltimore et les autres Prélats de l'église Catholique des*

Etats-Unis, assemblés en Council à Baltimore en Octobre 1829 aux Catholiques des Etats-Unis. (Baltimore, 1829, pp. 24); *Pastoral Letter of the Sixth Provincial Council of Baltimore, held in May,* 1846 (Baltimore, 1846, pp. 16).

III. The First Plenary Council of Baltimore, held in May, 1852, has been adequately treated by Shea (Vol. iv, pp. 366–397), and its statutes will be found in *Concilium Plenarium totius Americae Septentrionalis Foederatae Baltimori habitum anno 1852* (Baltimore, 1853, p. 64). The contemporary Catholic newspapers and periodicals contain much valuable information on this Council and a concise account of the procedings of the Council will be found in the *Berichte* of the Leopoldine Association (Vol. xxv, 1853, pp. 1–8). In this same *Report* can be seen Archbishop Kenrick's letter in the name of the Fathers of the Council to the Association (pp. 8–10).

IV. The Second Plenary Council of Baltimore, held in October, 1866, is treated in the last few pages of Shea's great work *The History of the Catholic Church in the United States* (Vol. iv, pp. 715–720). As is well known, he was on his death-bed when these pages were written. The Catholic press of the day devoted considerable space to the history of the Council. Material will also be found in *Concilii Plenarii Baltimorensis Secundi in Ecclesia Metropolitana Baltimorensi a die 7 ad diem 21 Octobris 1866 habiti et a Sede Apostolica recognita Acta et Decreta* (Baltimore, 1868). Smith's *Notes on the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore* (New York, 1874, p. 411) are rather an attempt at codifying the Statutes of the Council than a description of its procedure. G. C. Perrine published (Baltimore, 1914) a translation of Niedermayer's *Council of Baltimore* (1866), which had appeared at Frankfort, in Germany, 1867, (pp. 54). The *Pastoral Letter of the Hierarchy* published at the close of the Council, gives a succinct statement of the legislation agreed upon by the Fathers of the Council. Much useful information will be found in Chapter XXIII of Spalding's *Life of Archbishop Spalding* (New York, 1873).

V. The *Acta et Decreta Concilii Plenarii Baltimorensis Tertii, A. D.* MDCCCLXXXIV were published at Baltimore in 1886 (p. 321). Apart from the brochure—Nilles' *Commentaria in Concilium Plenarium Baltimorense Tertium ex praelectionibus academicis ad usus auditorum excerpta* (2 parts, Innsbruck, 1890), very little has been written on this most important codex of American Canon Law. Bishop O'Gorman's *History of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States* (New York, 1895), gives a description of its sessions, and the matters dealt with by the Fathers of the Council are explained by Fanning in the article quoted above. With the publication of the revised *Codex* in 1917, all local legislation will be obliged to conform as far as possible with the universal legislation of the Church. This no doubt will be done in works similar to that of Bishop Emard of Valleyfield, Canada, whose *Code de Droit Canonique* covers the entire *Codex* with special application of its rules to the conditions of the Church in Canada.

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge is publishing a series of *Helps for Students of History*. Among the pamphlets now ready are *Municipal Records*, *Medieval Reckonings of Time*, *The Public Record Office*, *The Care of Documents*, and *The Logic of History*. Reginald L. Poole writes the brochure on medieval chronology and he has explained in simple language the way in which time was reckoned in the Middle Ages. Any one who has struggled through the two hundred pages Giry has devoted to the subject in his *Manuel de Diplomatique*, will appreciate Mr. Poole's little book. It is strange that no one has translated the introduction to the Roman Breviary—no more erudite epitome on Chronology could be found.

Catholic army men will be interested in the fact that a *History of the United States Army Chaplains* has been begun by the War Department. The preliminary research work has been outlined in a synopsis sent out by Major Axton. It is divided into four parts and an appendix. Part One comprises the history of the chaplains within the United States, and deals with: (*a*) the status of the Regular Army chaplains on the eve of the war; (*b*) the New Army and the demand for more chaplains; (*c*) training the new chaplains at Camp Zachary Taylor; (*d*) the chaplains in the camps, hospitals, internment camps, disciplinary barracks, at the posts, etc., etc. Part Two embraces the history of the chaplains overseas—in France, Italy, and England, and treats such questions as: (*a*) the voyage over; (*b*) the conditions abroad; (*c*) the chaplains at the Front, in the trenches, at the rest camps, in the hospitals, on special duty; of the work of the chaplains during the armistice. Part Three describes the work done by the chaplains with the American forces in Archangel, Siberia, etc. Part Four deals with casualties and honors, and has a very important sub-heading entitled *What Enlisted Men say about the Chaplains*. We cannot have too much comment on the heroism of the American chaplains, Protestant, Jewish, and Catholic for all, with but few exceptions, wrote their names large upon the history of the war. All who can assist Major Axton in this laudable design should do so. Letters, photographs, etc., are especially wanted, and all letters entrusted to him will be carefully copied and returned. THE REVIEW will be glad to receive all such material and will be responsible for its safe return.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

GUIDE TO THE BIOGRAPHICAL SOURCES OF THE AMERICAN HIERARCHY

The history of the Catholic Church in any country is best understood in the lives of its leaders. Few sources are richer in their yield for ecclesiastical history than the biographies of the bishops who began or who carried on the work of Catholic organization in the different parts of the world. For the Church history of the United States, biography furnishes one of our most abundant sources. This fact is at once the virtue and the defect of all that has so far been written in the field of American Church history. If, for example, John Gilmary Shea had followed the plan carried out by Charles Dodd in his *Church History of England (1500–1688)*—published at Brussels (*i. e.*, Wolverhampton) in 1737, his four volumes of the *History of the Catholic Church in the United States* would form today a surer guide to the research student. Dodd's folio volumes are divided into eight parts, corresponding with the eight reigns over which the work extends. Each of these parts is again divided into three other parts—*History*, *Biography*, and *Records*. Dodd, or to give him his right name, Father Hugh Tootle, appreciated better than many of his contemporaries the eminent value of biographical sources. He has left in manuscript an *Historical and Critical Dictionary, comprising the Lives of the most eminent Roman Catholics from the year 1500 to 1688*, in three large folios, of 1,280 pages. One of these manuscript volumes is in the Archives of the Old Brotherhood; the others are in the library at Oscott. These biographies are fuller than those in the printed *Church History*, but together with the latter they form the most precious source we have for English Catholic history. From Dodd's time (d. 1743) down to that of Joseph Gillow, who completed (*1500–1688*) his five volumes, *Biographical Dictionary of English Catholics* (*1534–1898*), very few attempts were made to continue this important study. Gillow's work is a literary and biographical history of all the eminent Catholics of the post-Reformation period.

That a similar work would fill a much felt want in the field of American Church history needs no proof.

Several efforts have been made to write the history of the American Catholic hierarchy. The earliest of these is the series of sketches given in the *Laity's Directory* for 1822, where, after *A Brief Account of the Establishment of Episcopacy in the United States*, there follows *The Present State of Religion in the Respective Dioceses*. The *Catholic Directory* or *Catholic Almanac*, published with but few exceptions (1862, 1863) each year since 1833, also contains biographical matter. In 1886, Shea published in one volume a popular work, *The Hierarchy of the Catholic Church in the United States*. This work is of little value historically, since he followed a plan which one of his letters betrays, namely, to avoid all reference to sources, lest others misuse them. In 1888, Richard H. Clarke published in three volumes his *Lives of the Deceased Bishops of the Catholic Church in the United States*. In the second and third volumes of this work references to bio-

graphical sources are given, but the work is generally rather unreliable. In 1880, Clarke published in two volumes his *History of the Catholic Church in the United States from the Earliest Period to the Present Time with biographical sketches of the Living Bishops.* This work is likewise of small value historically, but it takes a certain precedence over others by reason of the portraits it contains.

The first serious historical work on the subject is that by Francis X. Reuss, *Biographical Cyclopedia of the Catholic Hierarchy of the United States* (1789–1898), published at Milwaukee in 1898. With what seemed at first self-laudation, Reuss called his work "nothing more—nor less—than an American supplement to the *Art of Verifying Dates.* It is not a history in the ordinary meaning of the word; it is a manual of fundamental data for the guidance of future historians of the Church in the United States, as of corrections of errors into which all our historians have so far fallen." Reuss was justified, as time proved, in the claim he made for his unique little volume. The student will find in his work, in alphabetical order, biographical sketches of all the prelates of the Church in America from 1789 down to 1898. In every case the sources from which he obtained his dates and facts are given. In many cases the facts come from the bishops themselves. During the past three years, Bishop Corrigan of Baltimore has published his *Chronology of the Catholic Hierarchy of the United States* in the Catholic Historical Review. Bishop Corrigan's plan supplemented the work of Reuss to a great extent. He has followed a geographico-chronological division, taking up the Provinces and the Suffragan Sees in the order of their establishment, and then giving chronologically the archbishops and bishops who ruled over the same.

But something more is needed. It is not enough to have a chronological list of the bishops, nor is a biographical index, such as that of Reuss, sufficient for historical needs. Shea and Clarke have given us biographies of the American episcopate, but we have nothing similar to Dodd's work, which helps the English Catholic historian in his research for material on the lives of the bishops. We have no work comparable to that of Gillow, who gives a list of the writings, printed and unprinted, of all the eminent Catholics of England in modern times. What we need is a Dictionary of the American Hierarchy containing all known sources for the complete history of the bishops who have ruled over the Church in the United States. The work nearest the ideal would be a reprint of Corrigan's *Chronology* with a detailed statement of the sources and books on each bishop. As far as the sources are concerned, there are two depots which are difficult of access—episcopal archives and Roman archives. The former contain in most cases Diaries, Journals, MSS., Letters, etc., of each bishop who has ruled over the See in question. That care has not always been taken of these goes without saying, but the careless age of archival accuracy embraces State as well as Church official life. In the Roman archives, and in particular in the Archives of Propaganda, there is a mass of Reports on every diocese in the country. In other parts of the official archives at Rome are minute biographical details on the lives, habits, virtues, etc., of every ecclesiastic proposed for a vacant see. Much of this material, of course, will never see the light, at least

not in our time. The same caution followed in state archives is followed in church depots. For this reason, Fish's *Guide to the Materials for American History in Roman and Other Italian Archives* (Washington, 1911), is invaluable to the student.

The plan proposed for the present series of biographical sketches is to follow in alphabetical order the *deceased* bishops of the Church in the United States. No biographical sketch is given, since that is already well done by Bishop Corrigan and by Reuss. An extensive study has been made of all the materials at our disposal for references to sources and books on the lives of the bishops. One source which cannot be neglected by the student is the Catholic press. As the Church grew, Catholic newspapers and magazines multiplied. Catholic life centers so much around the bishop of each locality that the pages of these journals are filled with local events and movements. Gradually, as time goes on, these periodicals assume the rank of source depots. Journalism is not always a school of accuracy, but special care is usually taken in reporting Catholic events, since the clergy would soon withdraw their support from a paper which neglected an accurate description of Church affairs. For a guide in the matter of periodical research, reference can be had to Foix's *Pioneer Efforts in Catholic Journalism in the United States* (1809–1840), which appeared in the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW for October, 1915 (pp. 258–270). Lists of Catholic periodicals, from the beginning down to 1892, will be found in Middleton's articles on that subject in the *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society, Vol. iv (1893), pp. 217–242, and Vol. xix (1908), pp. 18–42, where the number of Catholic publications in existence up to 1892 is given as four hundred and fifty-seven.

The proofs for these pages have been sent to the present occupants of the Sees mentioned, and in some cases valuable additions have been made.[1]

ALEMANY, Archbishop Joseph Sadoc (1814-1888); Bp. of Monterey (1850–1853); Arch. of San Francisco (1853-1889); resigned 1889.

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AMAT, Bishop Thaddeus (1810–1878); Bishop of Monterey (1854–1859); trans. to Los Angeles (1859–1878).

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[1]ABBREVIATIONS: ACHS (American Catholic Historical Society); ACQR (*American Catholic Quarterly Review*); CE (*Catholic Encyclopedia*); CHR (*Catholic Historical Review*).

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BAYLEY, Archbishop James Roosevelt (1814-1877); Bp. of Newark (1853–1872); Arch. of Balto., (1872-1877).

REUSS, *op. cit.*, p. 12; CLARKE, *op. cit.*, Vol. iii, pp. 43–68; valuable letters in MCCANN, *History of Mother Seton's Daughters*, Vol. ii, pp. 185, 186, 190, 192.

New York, 1917; references in McSweeny, *Story of the Mountain*, Vol. i, pp. 50, 77, 98, 146, 330, 401, 489, 534; documentary material in ACHS, *Researches*, Vol. vii, p. 104, Vol. viii, p. 5, Vol. ix, pp. 45, 95, 132, Vol. xv, p. 60, Vol. xxv, p. 44, Vol. xxvi, p. 258; Shea, *Hierarchy, etc.*, p. 81; biog. sketch in CE, Vol. ii, pp. 359-360; Flynn, *Catholic Church in New Jersey*. Morristown, 1904, contains numerous references to his work in Newark Diocese; CHR, Vol. i, p. 148 (historical work of), p. 64 (preserved papers of), p. 374 (biog. sketch); Clarke, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, p. 67, speaks of his *Journal;* letters of, in Farley, *Life of Cardinal McCloskey*, pp. 140–142, 207, 316–319, 367; Shea, *History of the Catholic Church*, etc., Vol. iv, pp. 120, 463, 497, 502–504; *Works* of Hughes (Kehoe Edition), Vol. ii, pp. 1—xiv, 211. New York, 1864; Macleod, *History of the Devotion to the B. V. M. in North America*, p. 323. New York, 1866.

Bazin, Bishop John Stephen (1796–1848); Bp. of Vincennes (1847–1848).

Reuss, *op. cit.*, p. 12, where reference is made to a biog. sketch, by Henry S. Cauthorn; ACHS, *Researches*, Vol. xi, pp. 27–28; letters in Archives of Mount St. Joseph, Ohio—cf. McCann, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, p. 9; *Annales P. de Fide*, Vol. v, p. 619; Clarke, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, pp. 370–372; cf. CE, Vol. ii, p. 361 (biog. sketch), Vol. vii, pp. 741–744, Vol. x, p. 411, Vol. xii, p. 508; Alerding, *The Diocese of Vincennes*. Fort Wayne, 1907; cf. CHR, Vol. iii, p. 492 (destruction of Vincennes Archives), p. 287 (biog. sketch); Shea, *Hierarchy*, etc., p. 386; Shea, *History of the Catholic Church*, etc., Vol. iii, p. 697; *ibid.*, Vol. iv, pp. 200–203, 281; *Life of Mother Theodore, of the Sisters of Providence*. St. Mary-of-the-Woods, Ind., 1905; *Life and Letters of Sister Francis Xavier*. St. Louis, 1917.

Becker, Bishop Thomas Andrew (1832–1899); Bp. of Wilmington, Del. (1868–1886); Bp. of Savannah (1886-1899).

Reuss, *op. cit.*, p. 13; Shea, *Hierarchy, etc.*, p. 392; McSweeny, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, pp. 80, 173, 180, 196, 318; ACHS, *Researches*, Vol. vi, pp. 141, 180, Vol. ix, p. 191, Vol. xi, p. 27, Vol. xix, p. 175; for his connection with the founding of the Catholic University of America, cf. ACQR, Vol. xix (1876), *Plan for the proposed Catholic University*, pp. 655–670, and *Shall we have a University? ibid.*, p. 230–236; Shea, *History of the Catholic Church*, etc., Vol. iv, p. 432.

Blanc, Archbishop Anthony (1792–1860); Bp. of New Orleans (1835–1850); Arch. of New Orleans (1850–1860).

Reuss, *op. cit.*, p. 14; Clarke, *op. cit.*, Vol. iii, pp. 438–477; Shea, *Hierarchy*, etc., p. 123; *Catholic History of Alabama and the Floridas*, by a Member of the Order of Mercy, *passim*. New York, 1908; ACHS, *Researches*, Vol. vii, p. 103, Vol. viii, p. 170, Vol. ix, pp. 85–88, Vol. xii, p. 82, Vol. xix, pp. 14-15; Deuther, *Life of Bishop Timon*, p. 29. Buffalo, 1897; CHR, Vol. ii, pp. 129, 428; CE, Vol. ii, p. 592 (biog. sketch), Vol. xi, pp. 12, 208; files of the *New Orleans Delta*, for June 23, 1860; Rosati, *Life of Felix De Andreis*. St. Louis, 1900; Shea, *History of the Catholic Church*, etc., Vol. iii, pp. 389, 411, 444, 452, 669, 671–680, 700–706, 719; *ibid.*, Vol. iv, pp. 28, 667–671, 695–697; Salzbacher, *Meine Reise nach Nord-Americaim Jahre* 1842, p. 310. Vienna, 1845; Cauthorn, *History of the City of Vincennes*, p. 117, Terre Haute, Ind., 1902.

Blanchet, Bishop Augustin Magliore Alexander (1797–1887); Bp. of Walla Walla (1846–1850); Bp. of Nesqually (1850–1879); resigned 1879; titular Bp. of Ibora (1879–1887).

BLANCHET, Archbishop Francis Norbert (1795–1883). *Brother of above.* V. A. of Oregon (1843–1846); Bp. of Oregon City (1846–1850); Arch. of Oregon City (1850–1880); resigned 1880; titular Bp. of Amada (1880–1883).

REUSS, *op. cit.*, pp. 15–16; CLARKE, *op. cit.*, Vol. iii, pp. 438–509; SHEA, *Hierarchy, etc.*, pp. 150, 320; ACHS, *Researches*, Vol. vi, pp. 48, 188, Vol. ix, p. 183, Vol. xi, p. 158, Vol. xvi, p. 191, Vol. xxviii, p. 348; CLARKE, *op. cit.*, pp. 474–475, refers to a printed *Pastoral* of Archbishop Blanchet of Feb. 27, 1881; SHEA, *Missions and Missionaries*, pp. 470–472; DE SMET, *Letters and Sketches*, etc. Philadelphia, 1843; ID., *Origin, Progress, and Prospects of the Catholic Missions of the Rocky Mountains*. Philadelphia, 1843; ID., *Western Missions and Missionaries*. New York, 1857; BLANCHET, *Notes on the Oregon Missions;* VAN RANSSELAER, *Sketch of the Catholic Church in Montana*, in the ACQR, Vol. xvii (1887); O'HARA, *Catholic History of Oregon:* Portland, Ore., 1916, refers to *Memoirs of Most Rev. F. X. Blanchet*, by Major Mallet, and also to large collection of letters and documents by both brothers in the Archdiocesan Archives of Portland; MARSHALL, *Acquisition of Oregon*, Vol. ii, pp. 210–211. Seattle, 1911; CE, Vol. ii, pp. 593–594; CHITTENDEN-RICHARDSON, *Life, Letters, and Travels of Fr. Pierre Jean De Smet*. New York, 1905; for the Whitman affair cf. *Catholic World*, Vol. xiv (1872), p. 95; *Historical Records and Studies*, Vol. viii; PALLADINO, *Indian and White in the Northwest*. Baltimore, 1894; CHR, Vol. i, pp. 182, 185–186, 381, 383, 187 (letters, etc., to the Leopoldine Association), Vol. ii, p. 428, Vol. iii, pp. 187–201 (*Catholic Pioneers of the Oregon Country*, by Edwin V. O'Hara); cf. *Dr. John McLoughlin*, by T. J. Campbell, S.J., in the *Historical Records and Studies*, Vol. viii, pp. 83–116; SHEA, *History of the Catholic Church*, etc., Vol. iv, pp. 310–327; 328, 689–702; ENGELHARDT, *Missions and Missionaries*, Vol. iv, pp. 613–615.

BLENK, Archbishop James (1856–1917); Bp. of Porto Rico (1899–1906); Arch. of New Orleans (1906–1917.)

CHR, Vol. ii, p. 130; cf., *Episcopology of Porto Rico*, in the CHR, Vol. iv, pp. 348–364.

BONACUM, Bishop Thomas (1847–1911); Bp. of Lincoln, Neb. (1887–1911).

REUSS, *op. cit.*, p. 16; CHR, Vol. iii, p. 162; CE, Vol. ix, p. 266, Vol. x, p. 733. HAYES-COX, *History of the City of Lincoln*, pp. 252–257. Lincoln, Neb., 1889; O'GORMAN, *History of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States*, p. 485. New York, 1895; MORTON-WATKINS, *History of Nebraska*, Vol. ii, pp. 462–464, Vol. iii, p. 398. Lincoln, 1906–1913; contemporary files of the *Omaha Bee, Omaha Herald, True Voice, Nebraska State Journal, Church Progress, Western Watchman;* cf. *True Voice*, special edition of July 14, 1911, article by Rev. M. A. Shine, *History of the Diocese of Lincoln;* cf. CE, Vol. ix, p. 266, Vol. x, p. 732.

BORGESS, Bishop Caspar Henry (1824–1890); Bp. of Detroit (1871–1887); resigned 1887; titular Bp. of Phacusites (1887–1890).

REUSS, *op. cit.*, p. 16; CE, Vol. i, p. 685 (biog. sketch); ACHS, *Researches*, Vol. xx, 176; CHR, Vol. ii, p. 286; SHEA, *Hierarchy, etc.*, p. 224.

BOURGADE, Archbishop Peter (1845–1908); V. A. of Arizona (1885–1897); Bp. of Tucson (1897–1899); Arch. of Santa Fe (1899–1908).

REUSS, *op. cit.*, pp. 16–17; CHR, Vol. iii, pp. 31, 32; CE, Vol. i, p. 720, Vol. xiii, p. 457, Vol. xiv, p. 78, Vol. xv, p. 84; SALPOINTE, *Soldiers of the Cross*. Banning, 1898; DEFOURI, *Historical Sketch of the Catholic Church in New Mexico*. San Francisco, 1887; ENGELHARDT, *Franciscans in Arizona*, pp. 200, 209.

BRADLEY, Bishop Denis Mary (1846–1903); Bp. of Manchester, N. H. (1884–1903).

REUSS, *op. cit.*, p. 17; SHEA, *Hierarchy, etc.*, p. 286; CE, Vol. ii, p. 727 (biog. sketch); GABRIELS, *History of Troy Seminary*. New York, 1906; KENNEY, *Centenary*, etc., p. 219; ACHS, *Researches*, Vol. xxii, p. 109; CHR, Vol. ii, p. 301; *History of the Catholic Church in the New England States*, Vol. ii, pp. 177–179, 471, 480, 500.

BRADY, Bishop John (1842–1910); Aux. Bp. of Boston (1891–1910).

REUSS, *op. cit.*, p. 17; CHR, Vol. ii, p. 297; KENNEY, *Centenary*, etc., p. 198; SULLIVAN, *Catholic Church of New England, Archdiocese of Boston*. Boston, 1895; LEAHY, *History of the Catholic Church in the New England States*. Boston, 1899.

BRENNAN, Bishop Thomas Francis (1853–1916); Bp. of Dallas, 1891–92; resigned 1893.

REUSS, *op. cit.*, p. 17; CHR, Vol. ii, pp. 137–138; *Bishop Brennan*, in the *Texas Catholic*, Vol. ii, August 6, 1892; *Dallas Diocese*, ibid., for 1891, 1892.

BRONDEL, Bishop John Baptist (1842–1903); Bp. of Vancouver[2] (1879–1883); V. A. of Montana (1883–1884); Bp. of Helena (1884–1903).

REUSS, *op. cit.*, p. 18; CHR, Vol. i, pp. 382–383; PALLADINO, *Indian and White in the Northwest, or a History of Catholicity in Montana*, pp. 361–394. Baltimore, 1894; Palladino made use of Brondel's *Diary*, letters, etc., for this work; the *Diary* is now in the possession of the present Bishop, John Patrick Carroll; cf. files of *Catholic News* (New York), for Nov., 1903; SHEA, *Hierarchy*, etc., p. 261; VAN RENSSELAER, *Sketch of the Catholic Church in Montana*, in the ACQR, Vol. xix (1887); VAN DER HEYDEN, *History of the American College of Louvain*, p. 259. Louvain, 1909; CE, Vol. ii, p. 798 (biog. sketch); *The Catholic Sentinel* (Portland, 1870-1919), files; *The Intermountain Catholic* (Salt Lake City, 1889–1919), files; *Diocesan Archives; Diocesan Scrap-Book* (Helena Chancery); SANDERS, *History of Montana*, Vol. i, pp. 162, 568; *Records of Historical Society of Montana* (1883–1903); *Life of Father Lacombe; Life of Bishop Brondel* (in preparation).

BRUTÉ DE REMUR, Bishop Simon William Gabriel (1779–1839); Bp. of Vincennes (1834–1839).

REUSS, *op. cit.*, p. 18; CE, Vol. iii, p. 24 (biog. sketch); ACHS, *Researches*, Vols. vi, ix, x, xii, xv, xviii, xxii, xxiii, xxix *passim;* MCSWEENY, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, pp. 8–429 *passim; Berichte* of the Leopoldine Association, Vols. i–xiii *passim;* LADY HERBERT, *Life of Bishop Bruté*. London, 1870; ALERDING,

[2]Bishop Brondel's official title was Bishop of Vancouver. But confusion will be avoided if it be remembered that he was not the Bishop of the present See of Vancouver, British Columbia, or of Vancouver, State of Washington, but of Victoria, Vancouver Island, which was his See City.